Force and Violence in Illinois—*Len Schroeter*

THE Nation

February 9, 1952

Time Out for Faith?

Opposing Views on Released Time

BY EDWARD S. GREENBAUM and V. T. THAYER

*

Murder in the Mines

BY WILLARD SHELTON

*

Tunisian Tinder Box

BY ANDREW ROTH

*

Political Prospects in Korea

BY YONGJEUNG KIM, W. MACMAHON BALL, and OWEN LATTIMORE

FEB 7 1952

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

HAROLD L. ICKES, IN SPITE OF SOME ILL health in recent years, was vigorous and effective almost to the day of his death. His articles in the *New Republic* were shrewd, salty, and penetrating. He followed events with unflagging attention, and when you talked to him you always sensed the long knowledge that lay behind his most casual comments. Not that his judgments were infallible. Far from it. Often infuriatingly wrong-headed and arbitrary, he would stick to his position with a passion worthy of a better cause. But when the better cause came along you could count on Harold Ickes to fight for it without any concern for his own interest or convenience. Republican Spain, for example, had no better friend in America; and his opposition to the policy of conciliating Franco was expressed with an open contempt for the expediencies of cold war and the threats of the witch hunters. Ickes's eminence as Secretary of the Interior is unchallenged. Not only did he enforce the standards that ruled out the possibility of new Teapot Domes; he also established so firmly the doctrine of public control over public resources that it will be hard, we believe, for any succeeding Secretary to abandon it altogether. Throughout his years in office he was not so much a good administrator as a dynamic leader who imbued his subordinates in the multifarious bureaus and divisions of the monstrous department with a new sense of direction, a social and political goal. His resignation was a misfortune for which the President was plainly responsible, but it gave Mr. Ickes a few years of freedom to devote to his family and a wide variety of personal and public interests. His going will leave a big gap in American life, for Harold Ickes was one of those rare persons who could be fought or followed but never for a moment ignored.

⁂

REPORTS FROM LONDON CONFIRM ANDREW Roth's account of Chiang's Guerrillas in our issue of January 26. On January 19 the *Observer's* crack correspondent, Rawle Knox, cabled from Rangoon that "one of Chiang Kai-shek's best battalions from Formosa has recently reinforced Kuomintang General Li Mi's 93d Division in [northeastern] Burma, according to indisputable authorities"—meaning, apparently, the British embassy. "There is indisputable evidence that Americans are helping the 93d Division. Two Americans accompanied it in its ignominious offensive last autumn, and when retreat followed, a Thai [Siamese] police helicopter was sent to evacuate them from Mongnyen. It crashed and was burned by its crew; the two Americans walked out into Thailand. . . . Over Kengtung town [in northeastern Burma's Shan States], Constellations are frequently seen flying at about 10,000 feet. . . . Misdirected parachute drops have been found, which include American small arms manufactured since the war. Surrendered Kuomintang men say they have been helped into Burma by an American organization in Bangkok. . . . There is quite sufficient evidence . . . to show that an independent American agency is helping Kuomintang troops and material through Thailand to Burma, a maneuver for which, in present Asian circumstances, foolhardy is a temperate word." Reports of this kind help to explain John Foster Dulles's statement before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on January 21 in which he said that to produce "a change in China . . . will require determination to promote freedom and independence in Asia, and *action consistent with that determination as opportunities arise*" (italics ours).

⁂

IT WAS INEVITABLE THAT THE ATTACK ON free schools should eventually be directed at a college. This is the prime significance of the recent attempt of the Hearst press, aided by Allen Zoll, Louis Budenz, the *American Legion Magazine, Counterattack,* and a local Legion post, to breach the walls of academic freedom at Sarah Lawrence College. The attack follows the familiar pattern of the razzle-dazzle campaigns launched against the public schools in Pasadena, California, Englewood, New Jersey, and a score of other communities since 1949. "Charges" are irresponsibly aired; then a local group "demands," under direct threat of financial reprisal, that the institution deliver up certain heretics; finally, to give the campaign meaning, the public threats are neatly synchronized to give the impression that they represent mass opposition rather than the ravings of a small group of fanatics egged on by self-seeking organizations and institutions. In this instance the plot has failed because the trustees of Sarah Lawrence have declined to be placed in a defensive position. In a fine statement the trustees declared: "An educational institution must teach its students to think for themselves by giving them the knowledge upon which to base judgments. . . . In carrying out this responsibility faculty

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members are expected to deal candidly and honestly with controversial questions. Teachers who meet the test of candor, honesty, and scholarly integrity may not be deprived of any rights they hold as citizens of this country, including the right to belong to any legal political organization of their own choosing. . . . The idea that a member of the faculty should take intellectual or political dictation from any quarter is alien to everything Sarah Lawrence stands for. Prejudiced or politically inspired teaching would quickly reveal itself, and would be rejected by the students and by the whole college." If the trustees stand by this statement, there will be no rout of freedom at Sarah Lawrence.

*

THE FBI WAS GIVEN A TASTE OF ITS OWN medicine in Hawaii when the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union broadcast over Station KHON the recorded conversation of two FBI agents with David Thompson, the union's educational director. Calling at Thompson's home, the agents tried to persuade him to help them convince Jack W. Hall, a union official now under indictment for violation of the Smith act, to become a government witness. Unknown to the agents, a tape recording was made of the interview. With remarkable frankness the agents offered a variety of "deals," including a reduction in the number of counts in the indictment against Hall, if he would "go along" with the government. The agents scoffed at the notion that the persons indicted in Hawaii for violation of the Smith act constituted "a clear and present danger" to the security of the islands. "They just don't rate," one of them said; "they would make poor Communists in the lowest cell in California." It is too bad that the playback of the recording could not have been heard over a national network or at least by a Congressional committee. If this is a fair sample of the political police activities of the FBI, it is high time Mr. Hoover was asked a few questions.

*

NOW THAT EVERYBODY IS INVESTIGATING everybody else it is no surprise to find Frank E. McKinney of Indianapolis, so recently chosen by President Truman to help purify the Democratic Party, himself the object of an inquiry in connection with the bankruptcy case of Frank Cohen's Empire Tractor Corporation. The trustees of that defunct company want to find out whether its failure was caused in part by the huge, quick profits paid to Mr. McKinney and his friend Frank M. McHale, Democratic National Committeeman from Indiana. They also want to know whether those profits can be recovered and turned over to the company's creditors. In an effort to protect the reputation of his new National Chairman, Mr. Truman has refused to make available the report on the Empire Ordnance Company, a related

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Cohen enterprise, made by the Truman committee in 1942. The President said it is "not in accord with our American traditions" to parade the names of individuals before the public "for scorn or ridicule without regard to their guilt or innocence." These are praiseworthy scruples. But Chairman McKinney's name is already before the public, and enough questionable doings have been connected with it so that the full facts can only help him —unless they are still more questionable. Readers who recall Irving Liebowitz's article, Frank "Midas" McKinney, in *The Nation* of December 29, will agree that evasive tactics will no longer serve the Democratic National Chairman, or the President.

*

MEANWHILE, MR. GABRIELSON, McKINNEY'S Republican counterpart, and Mr. Boyle, his Democratic predecessor, are in trouble too. Both have been accused by the Senate investigating subcommittee of dubious conduct in connection with several RFC loans. But Mr. Gabrielson at least has found a champion. Senator Joe McCarthy, whose feeling for the niceties and scrupulous regard for the rights of the accused are well known, entered a lone dissent from the subcommittee's report. His comment should be included in all future collections of McCarthiana. "The report, in my opinion," he said, "must stick strictly to the facts as proven and not indulge in supposition."

*

THE RECENT APPOINTMENT OF LUIGI GEDDA to head Catholic Action in Italy is proof that the Vatican is getting ready for a showdown with the anti-clerical elements in the Christian Democratic Party. Gedda is the man who in 1948 organized the Catholic "Civic Committees" which turned out the Christian Democratic vote and coincidentally made Catholic Action, the temporal arm of the church, very influential within the party. He is an extreme conservative who has consistently urged closer cooperation between the Demo-Christians and the extreme right. When the appointment was announced, Monarchist and neo-Fascist legislators promptly expressed approval. A Demo-Christian spokesman limited himself to declaring that his party would not become subservient to church policies, but it is evident that a real fight for control is in prospect. The Vatican newspaper, *L'Osservatore Romano,* in an angry editorial aimed at refuting the criticism which both the left and the center have leveled at Gedda, declared that "all these influences are fanciful" since "Catholic Action is not a political organization or a political party." The *Osservatore* denied that the church was applying any pressure to the Demo-Christians, although in the same breath it declared that there could obviously be no division of policy between that party and the clergy. The first indications of how successful Gedda has been will come in the spring, when thirty-three provinces, mainly in southern Italy, will hold administrative elections. If Gedda and Catholic Action succeed in forcing the Demo-Christians to collaborate with the Monarchists and the neo-Fascist Italian Social Movement, the result might not only split the government party but confirm the victory of political clericalism.

*

ALGER HISS, CONVICTED OF PERJURY TWO years ago by the second of two juries to hear his case, has moved for a third trial based on newly discovered evidence. The motion is supported by affidavits strongly suggesting that the famous Woodstock typewriter, which figured so prominently in the trials, may have been a specially built or fabricated machine and not the machine that Hiss once owned. Its serial number indicates that it was built in the second half of 1929, whereas the admitted Hiss letters and the Chambers documents appear in a typeface that the Woodstock Company had abandoned at the end of 1928 or early 1929. The motion also relies on sworn testimony by Lee Pressman, formerly chief counsel for the C. I. O., which directly contradicts Chambers's testimony that Hiss once belonged to a Communist "apparatus" that included Pressman. Pressman's statement was not available at either trial, since he had not then decided to testify before the House Un-American Activities Committee. Of great interest also is a wealth of new evidence cited to prove that Chambers had broken with the Communist Party and gone into hiding at a date which would make it impossible for him to have been a pillar of the Communist espionage system late in the spring of 1938. The motion contains, in addition, two affidavits from witnesses who, without qualification, contradict the testimony of the "surprise" witness, Edith Murray, whose testimony was largely instrumental in bringing about the conviction of Hiss at the second trial. Both trials were conducted in a social, if not a courtroom, atmosphere that was highly prejudicial; it is to be hoped, therefore, that this motion for a new trial will be weighed with the greatest care and objectivity.

*

AN INVESTIGATION OF BLACKLISTING practices in the radio and television industries by the Federal Communications Commission was proposed in these columns on December 1, 1951. We are now pleased to report that the Author's League of America has instructed its president, Rex Stout, to ask the commission for a hearing on the blacklisting of writers and others by radio and television licensees. In view of the great public interest in the question and the clear threat which blacklisting offers to American institutions, the FCC should grant the request. Properly conducted, such a hearing could dispel "the black shadow of fear" from television and radio studios.

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While the Supreme Court Pussyfoots

FACED with an opportunity to strike a final blow at segregated public schools, the Supreme Court has not only dodged the issue but in effect ruled that the right of Negro children to equality of education must be vindicated in each school district of the South. The nub of the ruling in the Clarendon County, South Carolina, case is that the court prefers to force the admission of Negroes to "white" schools on a case-by-case basis rather than rule that the "separate-but-equal" doctrine is a contradiction in terms.

In recent years the Supreme Court has gradually broken down the pattern of segregation in the tax-supported graduate and professional schools of most of the border and a number of Southern states. Last year the N. A. A. C. P. decided to strike at segregation in the public schools. Negro parents in Clarendon County brought suit in the federal district court, asking that their children be admitted to the regular "white" school on the ground that segregation is *per se* unconstitutional.

Over the vigorous dissent of Judge J. Waties Waring, the special three-judge court sitting on the case decided that segregation was constitutional but that the Negro school in Clarendon must be made "equal" to the white. School officials were accordingly ordered to report back within six months on the steps taken to achieve this objective. In the meantime, however, the petitioners appealed to the Supreme Court, which has now ruled that the lower court should have considered the report of the school officials—a ruling which will delay final decision on the crucial issue until well after the November election. As Justices Black and Douglas pointed out in dissents, the Supreme Court had all the information needed for a judgment if it had been willing to pass on the question of segregation itself. For if the court had faced this issue, it would not have mattered whether the Negro school was equal or even better than the "white."

When the case again comes before it, the Supreme Court will doubtless order Negro children admitted to the schools of Clarendon County; but the victory will be a narrow one indeed since it will be based solely on conditions of inequality found to exist in that one county. If the fight against segregation must go on until Negroes have captured every educational hedgerow, it will continue for many summers. It was for this reason that Governor James F. Byrnes hailed the decision as a victory for the South.

Apparently the Supreme Court—Justices Black and Douglas dissenting—intends to kill Jim Crow by as many pinpricks as there are school districts in the South. If this is its strategy, then we should like to go on record as saying that the court is likely to provoke a great deal more trouble than if it were to decide, once and for all, that segregated schools are unconstitutional. The facts recited in Len Schroeter's piece on page 124 indicate clearly enough that while the Supreme Court pussyfoots, the opposition is exploding bombs and blasting away with shotguns. By temporizing with these forces, the court only encourages further resistance and thereby arrests the pace of social progress. Further reprieves are pointless: Jim Crow is dying, let the final blow be struck!

Mr. Butler's Tourniquet

LAST week Britain's Chancellor of the Exchequer, Richard A. Butler, brought forward the second instalment of a Tory austerity program calculated to make his fellow-countrymen look back longingly to the spacious days of Cripps. Two months ago Mr. Butler announced a reduction in import licenses for European goods, particularly foodstuffs, intended to cut imports by £350,000,000, together with the halving of tourists' foreign-exchange allowances. Now imports from other areas are to be reduced by £150,000,000, and the tourist allowance is again cut in half, bringing it down to £25 annually, not more than enough for an economical week in Paris.

Supplies of home produced as well as foreign goods are to be restricted. Quotas of most kinds of hard goods, including bicycles, radios, television sets, vacuum cleaners, and other household appliances, are to be a third less than last year. This will free capacity in the metal-working industries for export orders and defense, as will the proposed severe restriction of all non-essential building and investment in plant and machinery. It is also expected that these measures will lead to some unemployment and thus assist recruitment in the undermanned defense industries.

The reduction in the supply of goods available to British consumers must be matched by measures to cut down purchasing power if it is not to create new inflationary pressures. To this end Mr. Butler announced a cut in civil-service personnel and the modification of the National Health Service by the imposition of a small uniform charge for each prescription supplied and of fees for dental work, hitherto free. But these are obviously small beginnings; a much heavier attack on spending power is likely when Mr. Butler presents his budget on March 4, five weeks earlier than usual.

In the House of Commons the Labor opposition replied to the government's proposals with a motion of censure which declared that the new austerity program was "inadequate, inappropriate, and unjust" and urged that there could be "no confidence in a government whose present policy is in such marked contrast to the optimistic statements on which it was returned to

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power." That was a legitimate debating point, since when the Tories wooed the electorate with visions of fewer controls and more food, they were well aware that Britain's tottering balance of payments would not permit any thing of the sort. However, the Labor Party's spokesmen were handicapped by the fact that, like the Tories, they were committed to giving priority to rearmament. Had a Labor government been returned to office it would have been compelled to take very similar action unless it had decided to reduce defense expenditure.

Only the Bevanite group, therefore, was in a position to attack the government on the ground that it was sacrificing the social services and the workers' standard of living to rearmament. Bevan himself intervened effectively to point out that part of the proposed saving in imports was to be achieved by reducing reserves of food and materials—an act of "criminal lunacy" if there was really danger of war. However, the rebel leader appeared to be biding his time, expecting, perhaps, that his real opportunity would come when the budget appears, especially if the Chancellor confirms persistent rumors by abolishing the food subsidies.

While some of the Tories' belt-tightening measures are debatable, it is beyond dispute that Britain, in cooperation with its partners in the sterling area, must find means to end the drain on its gold and dollar reserves. In the second half of 1951 these reserves fell by $1,578,000,000 and now total only $2,335,000,000, which is not very much above the irreducible safe minimum of about $2,000,000,000. For some time both Britain and the principal sterling-area countries have been living above their incomes. If they continue to do so and there are further substantial drafts on the reserve, the sterling area is likely to collapse and Britain itself will be threatened with bankruptcy.

This danger was recognized at the recent conference in London of Commonwealth Finance Ministers, who agreed that each member of the sterling group should take appropriate measures to rectify its trade balance. Mr. Butler's program represents part of Britain's response to this challenge, and in the near future other members of the Commonwealth are expected to announce plans for curbing imports and investments and stimulating exports.

Such steps are probably inevitable in view of the present crisis. The difficulty is that they are essentially restrictionist and thus apt to be self-defeating. British curbs on imports from Europe, together with restrictions on tourists, must, for instance, create balance-of-trade difficulties for other countries, which in turn may find themselves forced to block imports from the sterling area. The result may be a concentration of British and European sales efforts in this country, where there is no balance-of-payments problem to serve as an excuse for limiting imports. Yet, if successful, such a sales drive would probably lead to strong protests from manufacturers here whose own production is being curtailed by defense requirements. Again, the restriction of investment must prevent the realization of one of Britain's prime needs—the improvement of its industrial plant. Without that it will not be able to raise its productivity and in the not very long run will find exports lagging because costs are too high.

Restrictionism, in short, is like a tourniquet. It may prevent a country from bleeding to death, but if retained for long it stops circulation. Britain has to find means not merely to check the economic hemorrhage which threatens its life but to end it. The real question facing Churchill's government, therefore, is the one that Mr. Bevan and his friends continue to press: can this cure be effected so long as the country is arming beyond its means?

The Speech Nobody Made

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris, January 30

FOR two months the press of the world has been publishing detailed accounts of the proceedings of the General Assembly and the various U. N. committees. But though the speeches have been accurately reported and the comments ample and intelligent, people have not got the real picture of what has been happening—of the change from the high expectations of the opening sessions to the sense of frustration now prevailing. To fill out the story, historians of the Assembly need a speech which is not in the files because it was never given aloud, though it was frequently whispered into the ears of delegates and journalists. It would have caused a great sensation if some representative of a small Western nation had had the courage to rise up and deliver it from the floor. It would have run, I believe, something like this:

Mr. Chairman: The country I represent belongs to what is usually called the "Western" or "Christian" world. As such it will be called upon to do its share in defending the West in case of Communist aggression. This gives me the right, I think, to appraise the forces on our side and the way they are being utilized. Since I speak in this tribunal I shall naturally emphasize the use the United Nations is making of them.

At San Francisco the United Nations pledged themselves to wipe out fascism. Their whole policy during the war was directed to that end, and no one imagined the task was accomplished when the last shot was fired. It was recognized that a continuing political effort, based on an accord among the five great powers, would be required. There is no use asking sadly or indignantly why this fundamental postulate of post-war policy was so soon

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forgotten. The fact is that the accord among the Big Five no longer exists, that it has been replaced by two antagonistic alliances, and that the United Nations, instead of trying to forge a new unity, is apparently bending every effort to prevent the great powers from getting together to negotiate an agreement. As a result the United Nations has lost all power to secure the peace. The give and take of negotiations has been abandoned for the adoption of resolutions by a not always convinced but usually obedient Western majority.

Countries which can contribute men or arms or experience in aggression are rated higher than those which, like mine, can only offer devotion to the principles of the Charter. Thus a Germany more and more dominated by the surviving exponents of Nazism, by pre-war generals and industrialists, exercises more influence here in the Palais de Chaillot, even before its formal admission to the U. N., than a country like India, which insists on conciliation; Uruguay with its long tradition of democracy is less courted than Franco's Spain.

While the propaganda front is one of the most important fronts of the cold war, the matter of effectives must also be considered. Besides the German and Japanese divisions which N. A. T. O.'s high command is planning to recruit, it must raise and equip French, English, Belgian, Scandinavian, South American, Greek, and Turkish troops. America, meanwhile, prepares Franco Spain for its role as ally and undertakes the rearming and training of the defeated forces of Chiang Kai-shek. The strain on the Western countries is tremendous. Post-war reconstruction is interrupted; consumers' goods are becoming scarce; living standards, already low, are declining; plans for the economic development of backward countries must be put off; trade barriers between East and West are multiplied; raw materials are stockpiled and channeled into the manufacture of armaments; bankruptcy is staved off only by fresh transfusions of dollars. I do not imagine these things. They are all described in the reports of the U. N.'s experts, and some have been discussed in the present Assembly. The trend in this direction was started by the U. N.'s famous resolutions—those creating the Interim Committee, the Acheson plan ("Uniting for Peace"), and other similar "collective" measures. And behind all these resolutions stands the transfer of the functions of the Security Council to the Assembly, where our "Western" world has a firm majority and no veto can be exercised. Have we, by these means, accomplished our aims?

In private conversations it is admitted that our plan has not worked. Though the resolutions were passed by overwhelming votes, the conviction which would have given them moral force and insured their effective implementation was lacking. The chief thought was that the enemy must not get the impression of any division in our ranks. We have repeatedly proclaimed the success of collective action in Korea, but there has been no military decision and so far no armistice to mark the successful application of military sanctions. The truth is that the handling of the Korean affair has antagonized all Asia.

The refusal of the Assembly to consider how to bring the Korean war to an early end has further damaged the prestige of this institution. When Mr. Vishinsky offered to discuss Korea, the Assembly, in my opinion, should have seized the opportunity either to unmask the Soviet proposal if it was only a maneuver or to make use of it if it was genuine. The man in the street simply does not understand—and, indeed, it *is* difficult to understand—why the United Nations must permit the war in Korea to drag on and on, apparently forever, without lifting a finger to finish the bloodshed. The argument that discussion in the U. N. might endanger the truce negotiations in Korea seems pure nonsense to the ordinary citizen. He knows only that the talks have been stalled for weeks and that if they collapse the U. N. troops may bomb China proper. Confronted with this gloomy prospect, he says: Well, after all, this is a United Nations war; if the United Nations is unable to finish it, what is the use of having a United Nations?

Our disarmament resolution had no practical value since it was opposed by the countries we wanted to see disarm. Our resolution on German unity was rejected by half of Germany. We voted for economic aid to underdeveloped countries knowing such aid would not get beyond the paper stage. When for once a miracle occurred in the Political Committee and a Russian resolution calling for simultaneous admission of the fourteen applicant nations was approved by twenty-one votes to twelve with twenty-five abstentions, the American delegation immediately initiated a drive to kill it in the Assembly, where a two-thirds' majority is required.

That is the record within the U. N. Outside, spokesmen for the Arab states have emphasized the failure of Western policy in the Middle East, and events have surely borne them out. Not only Aneurin Bevan but Winston Churchill has described the British economy as "ruined." The Americans try to reassure us by saying that the task of creating positions of strength has caused difficulties which will disappear as the rearmament program approaches completion. But what guaranty have we that the United States, after building up these positions of strength, will consider it necessary or advantageous to negotiate with the Russians? May not the desire to deliver an ultimatum overrule its allies' demand for a negotiated settlement? That question haunts us and overshadows every other calculation.

It is essential that we Westerners restore the prestige of negotiation. After all, public opinion in all our countries, however great the ideological opposition to communism, would be less offended by the sight of Soviet representatives around the council table than they are at

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the prospect of conferring with Hitler's former generals, or the men who planned Pearl Harbor, or Franco's pro-Nazi Falangists. Let us give frank and public expression here to the doubts voiced privately by so many delegates. Let us shape out of those doubts a policy of conciliation, and refuse to permit the United Nations to be converted into an instrument of "containment" or ultimate showdown in the struggle for power we have seen carried on in this Assembly. For that would mean its death.

Murder in the Mines

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, January 31

CLOSING his testimony on the Neely-Price mine-safety bill before a Senate labor subcommittee, John L. Lewis reminded committee members that in ancient Egypt there were men who tended the Houses of the Dead. "Those men were a breed apart. The effluvia of death always seemed to emanate from their bodies. I sometimes wish, when I have time to meditate between explosions, that some great anthropologist or profound student of genealogy would tell me whether our present-day coal operators are not descendants of the men who worked in the Houses of the Dead. In no other way can I account for their callousness, their indifference to death among their employees, their pseudo-defense of the killing, the maiming, the wounding of men."

The language was violent, although Lewis's manner was restrained, and Harry Moses, a veteran spokesman of the mine operators, blenched visibly. But the testimony of the operators themselves proved that the denunciation was justified. Witness after witness representing the coal industry declared that enforcement of federal mine-safety regulations would be "impracticable," that it was "unconstitutional," that it was fradulently designed to promote, not safety, but "nationalization" of the mines.

Until 1941 mine operators were able to prevent federal inspectors from entering their pits. It would be "unconstitutional," they argued for an agent of the federal government to pass judgment on miners' working conditions. They were finally forced to allow federal safety inspections, but they blocked all attempts to give the Bureau of Mines and Department of the Interior the power to close down unsafe mines.

Since inauguration of the safety-inspection service not a single major mine disaster has occurred without prior warning of unsafe conditions. The Centralia, Illinois, mine in which 111 men died five years ago had been the subject of protests by federal inspectors and a committee of the miners. The Orient mine No. 2 at West Frankfort, Illinois, which killed 119 men just before Christmas, was criticized by federal inspectors as recently as last July 31. John J. Forbes, director of the Bureau of Mines, testified that four consecutive reports of federal agents in two years had warned the Chicago, Wilmington, and Franklin Coal Company that Orient No. 2 was dangerous and had spelled out the major hazards in capital letters.

While theoretically it should be possible for mine safety to be insured by the several states, the record of 93,000 deaths in fifty years shows that the states have not done the job. In Illinois, Governor Adlai Stevenson had a new safety code drafted, but the General Assembly refused to consider it. Even the members of the legislature from the West Frankfort area showed no interest.

The major objection to strict safety laws is economic. It costs money to protect mines against natural hazards—to use rock dusting to keep down the explosive potential of coal dust, to instal ventilating shafts, to buy "permissible" equipment (approved by federal inspectors) and maintain it in "permissible" operating condition. Moreover, if one state passes a rigid safety code, its mines are handicapped in competition with those of other states. The coal lobbyists scarcely have to lift an eyebrow in any state capital to discourage crusading about mine safety.

In spite of these facts not a single representative of the coal industry who appeared before the Neely subcommittee had the decency to admit frankly that the time had come for federal action. Harry Treadwell, vice-president of the company operating Orient mine No. 2, double-talked to the committee and the press. He told the committee, in response to repeated questions from Senator Murray, that he favored any law "that would stop accidents so we can continue in business," but he confided to reporters afterward that he was "not necessarily" in favor of the Neely-Price bill. The miners killed in the West Frankfort disaster left 301 dependents, but Treadwell is "not necessarily" in favor of effective measures to prevent future disasters.

Ed Schorr, representing the Ohio and some western Pennsylvania operators, warmly indorsed federal legislation in principle, but insisted that the whole federal mine-safety code—a highly technical document requiring expert interpretation—be written into law by Congress, so that day-to-day administration would be removed from the Bureau of Mines. Schorr also proposed that if the

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bureau closed down a mine, the operator be given the right of immediate recourse to a federal judge, who could suspend the order.

Robert E. Lee Hall, a lawyer who appeared for the National Coal Association, argued that the safety record of mines was steadily improving and that to transfer "primary responsibility" to the federal government would be unconstitutional and would create "uncertainties." Walter Thurmond expressed the opposition of the Southern Coal Producers' Association; an engineer from Pikesville, Kentucky, one O. S. Batten, who appeared for Kentucky operators, charged that the Neely-Price bill and the mine-safety code were equally insincere and fraught with menace to the Republic.

A curious note was introduced into the hearings by Thomas E. Shroyer, Senator Taft's representative on the staff of the Senate Labor Committee. Shroyer—and he was later echoed by Taft himself—exhibited concern for the constitutional question of whether coal mining is an aspect of interstate commerce and as such properly subject to federal regulation. Forbes, of the Bureau of Mines, insisted that fewer than 5 per cent of existing mines would be exempt from federal regulation on the ground that they operated wholly in intrastate commerce, but Taft and Shroyer seemed dubious. Apparently in their view the coal industry is clearly in interstate commerce when John L. Lewis is to be hit with a court injunction prohibiting a strike but just as clearly out of it when mine safety is the issue.

A word must be said about the hot dispute between Lewis and Taft over the effects of the Taft-Hartley law on the authority claimed by miners' safety committees to shut down unsafe mines. Taft argued that a mere suit for damages under Taft-Hartley did not mean that the union would lose. As he expressed it, drawing on his memory of catch phrases from law school, "You can sue the Bishop of Boston for bastardy but you can't collect." The facts in the case of the Blackwood Fuel Company of Virginia appear to sustain Lewis. The miners' safety committee protested conditions in the Blackwood mine, and one of the members of the committee was fired when he refused to work. The rest of the men quit in retaliation, but a federal Taft-Hartley injunction drove them back to the pits. Whether or not the company wins its lawsuit against the union, the safety committee was unable to shut down the mine.

Sponsors of the Neely-Price bill feel confident that the measure will be approved by the Senate Labor Committee. Its fate may depend on Representative Graham Barden of North Carolina, chairman of the House committee. It may also depend on whether the operators profit from a strategy of delay, hoping that memory of West Frankfort will fade, or another unsafe mine blows up soon—and blows the bill through Congress.

P. S. While the Senators debated, six more miners were killed in an explosion in the Carpentertown mine No. 2 in Greensburg, Pennsylvania. Last year federal mine inspectors had reported to the owners that the pit was "gassy" and directed their attention to serious hazards. Will this new tragedy move Congress to act?

Force and Violence in Illinois

BY LEN SCHROETER

CAIRO, ILLINOIS, one of the last communities in the Northern states in which segregated schools still exist, was scheduled to capitulate to democratic principles on January 28, when seventy Negro children in a town of 12,000 people were to be admitted into the previously all-white public schools. That night shotgun blasts rocked the home of Dr. James C. Wallace, a leader of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the first Negro candidate for the Cairo school board, and the recognized leader of the local campaign to obtain integrated schools. Unlike his Florida counterpart, Harry T. Moore, Dr. Wallace was not killed.

The next night a bomb exploded in the home of Dr. Urbane F. Bass, another prominent local Negro, wrecking one of the bedrooms. On both these nights fiery crosses burned in the Negro section of town. No Negro child has yet been enrolled in the white schools of this southernmost Illinois community, which is now in the grip of an organized reign of terror.

Illinois law provides that no pupil shall be excluded or segregated in any public school on account of race or color, and the recently passed Jenkins Amendment denies state-aid funds to any school district that violates this law. Cairo, however, situated at the junction of the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers, almost one hundred miles south of St. Louis, is as Southern as Paducah, Kentucky, in its social and economic structure. The capital of Illinois, at Springfield, seems far away.

As in most Southern communities, segregation has meant that Negro students are denied decent educational opportunities. The Negroes and whites have three grammar schools each, one junior high school, and one

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high school. A special committee of the Illinois House of Representatives investigating Cairo's school system last spring reported that a comparison of the two school systems makes it "evident that the pattern of segregation prevents equality of equipment, teaching facilities, and educational opportunities for colored children."

The campaign to force Cairo to conform to state law met vigorous opposition. The District Superintendent of Schools, Leo S. Schultz, a bitter foe of integration, was supported by the school board, which is composed of the town's leading business men, including the presidents of the two banks. Resistance to the change was also encountered from some elements in the Negro community who had accommodated their lives and careers to segregation. Foremost in the fight against integration were the principals of the Negro schools, who used every means at their disposal to prevent children from seeking a transfer to the white schools.

A CONCERTED effort to get Negro children and parents to apply for transfers began immediately after the burning of a fiery cross in the nearby town of Brookport, Illinois. This demonstration was directed at Negro workers in Brookport who were working in the atomic-energy plant at Paducah, Kentucky. Despite vicious opposition N. A. A. C. P. field secretaries June Shagaloff and Lester Bailey organized neighborhood meetings, arranged for radio broadcasts, and distributed handbills to tell parents they should ask for transfers. The response of most of the Negro community was enthusiastic. Negro spokesmen urged cooperation and obedience to state law on school officials.

On January 17 the first group of students and parents presented applications for transfer. By the following afternoon seventy applications, complying with every technicality, had been filed. It was announced that the applications could be processed in twenty-four hours and that the children would be admitted at the beginning of the new semester, January 28.

On January 21 the N. A. A. C. P. leaders met with the City Council, the sheriff, and the chief of police, and asked for help in preparing the community for the transfers. Local officials refused to make a public statement that Negro children had a legal right to be admitted to the schools. Nor would they take any action to ease the transition, though they conceded that the law compelled integration.

Rumors of violence began to seep through the town. David Lansden, a white lawyer who had been consulted by the Negro group, had the windows of his house broken. The N. A. A. C. P. leaders sent word of the expected transfers to the state law-enforcement agents, who in turn notified the local United States Attorney and the local FBI agents. No one seemed interested. On January 23 the first crosses were burned in Cairo. Prominent white citizens met secretly to devise measures to maintain segregation. Attorney General J. Howard McGrath was informed that tension was high and violence might be feared. The national office of the N. A. A. C. P. was also warned.

On January 25 Roy Wilkins, N. A. A. C. P. administrator, sent an urgent telegram to Governor Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois: "We fear some form of outbreak and wish steps to be taken to guarantee safety of children and parents when they present themselves at schools Monday morning. Feel certain you would not wish any racial disturbance in Illinois, and therefore we request state to take all necessary steps in situation." The Governor did not reply, but he sent Russell Babcock, director of the Illinois Commission on Human Rights, to Cairo to look over the situation. Babcock reported that there was nothing to worry about.

When the children went to the white schools on Monday morning, they were told their transfers had not been processed, although the city had had ten days to do what was necessary to comply with the law. On Tuesday they were turned away again. The next day there had been so much violence and the crowds were so threatening that no child ventured to appear.

None of the persons responsible for the intimidation and violence has as yet been arrested. Affidavits have been presented to Lucy T. McPherson, County Superintendent of Schools, stating that the unreasonable delay in processing transfers was an act of discrimination, and she has said that state-aid funds will be discontinued. This same technique was used last spring but was abandoned when the authorities said that Negro children were free to seek transfers and that they did not have a policy of discrimination.

Once again it appears that white supremacists, by force and violence, can disregard the law with impunity. But unlike recent outbreaks in Florida, these tactics were used after local, state, and national authorities had been warned to take precautions against them. Little can be expected of bigoted officials who refuse to prevent law-breaking they know is being planned. The federal government has displayed an utter disregard for the rights of Negroes in case after case of violations presented to the Department of Justice and the FBI. But more energetic action might have been looked for from the liberal Governor Adlai Stevenson.

The Cairo disorders point up what the killing of Harry Moore and the wave of bombings in Florida, Texas, Georgia, Alabama, and North and South Carolina make clear. In Walter White's words, "The bomb has replaced the lyncher's rope." We have entered a new phase in the struggle for Negro rights. Until now the emphasis has been on passing laws that destroy the legal basis for Jim Crow. Those victories have been won. Now they must be translated into social reality. No one recog-

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nizes this new phase more clearly than the people who are the beneficiaries of white supremacy. Seeing that they can no longer preserve their social and economic power legally, they resort to extra-legal acts. Their weapons are the bomb and the fiery cross. Their spokesmen are not a lunatic fringe but the Governors and Senators of Southern states and the sheriffs, mayors, and police chiefs of Jim Crow communities. They condone, encourage, and plan violence as an instrument of policy. Their allies are those who, in dread of being smeared or in hope of political advancement, play along with fascist terrorists.

The response of all minorities and of all Americans who cherish freedom must be to recognize the enemy and to fight him as vigorously in Illinois as in Florida, through mass organization and political action designed to elect public officials who take the Fourteenth Amendment seriously.

Tunisian Tinder Box

BY ANDREW ROTH

London, January 30

"YOU must see Bourguiba in action to understand Tunisian nationalism," said the Arab who had led me through the narrow streets of the Arab quarter of Tunis to show me the brass plaque, "Habib Bourguiba—Avocat," on the door of the nationalist leader's office. That was in the summer of 1950, and the place had already become something of a shrine.

Not long afterward I met Bourguiba in Paris, where he was hospitalized, and after talking with him I was moved to write: "In a hospital bed I have found the match that may soon set off the North African tinder box." His force of character was instantly apparent, and his lean, mobile face was alive with intelligence, its expression changing rapidly with his thoughts.

In arresting him on January 18 the French struck this Tunisian "match" against the flinty surface of their colonial obduracy. The flame of revolt flared up quickly. Crowds demonstrated, police posts were dynamited. Towns were seized, trains derailed, French soldiers shot. The so-called "soft" people of Tunisia showed that their nationalism was as militant as that of any advanced area in the colonial world. The French described their action as a "calculated risk." They thought that if they arrested Bourguiba and other leaders of the Neo-Destour (New Constitutional) Party, some "moderates" might come to the surface. It was the sort of "calculated risk" one might take in searching for a lost coin in a powder magazine with a blazing torch.

Bourguiba is certainly the last man with whom the French should want to collide violently. Massive demonstrations have made it clear that he and his party command the loyalty of all politically conscious Tunisians except a thin Communist fringe and an even thinner rightest fringe organized in the feudal Vieux Destour (Old Constitutional) Party.

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Bourguiba's record is amazingly clean. The French cannot hurl at him the charges of corruption which stick so firmly to many Middle Eastern leaders. Born in Monastir forty-nine years ago, he has never known comfort. He lived the life of a poor Tunisian student in Paris while getting his law degree, and it was then that he met and married his French wife. Nor can he be accused of having collaborated with the Nazis or Fascists, although the Germans released him from a French prison in Marseilles in 1942 and the Italians also tried hard to win him over.

But what annoys the French most of all is that they cannot call him a Communist. He has purged his party of every person—even a long-time friend—who has shown any tendency to flirt with Moscow or Communist-led movements; in 1950 he took the trade unions adhering to his party out of the Communist-led federation. At the same time he has the dynamism, organizational ability, and sensitivity to economic and social problems necessary to compete with the Communists. The peasant and labor organizations led by the Neo-Destour Party have far outstripped those of the Communists. And his network of party cells and fronts gives him the tactical advantages elsewhere enjoyed only by Communists.

In March, 1945, Bourguiba succeeded in breaking out of the isolation imposed on most colonial nationalists. He left Tunisia secretly and after an arduous trip by boat, camel, and on foot finally reached Egypt. In Cairo he established close links with leading Arab nationalists throughout the Middle East, although he does not share the fanaticism that inspires many of them. The London *Times* said of him the other day, after his arrest: "British officials might well have felt envious of their French colleagues, who had so reasonable a party to deal with."

In 1950-51 he made an extended tour which gave him a chance to put his case before Pandit Nehru, Liaquat Ali Khan, and Sukarno, as well as before high London and Washington officials. He showed his political cunning by having his visit to the United States spon-

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sored by Irving Brown, the violently anti-Communist international representative of the American Federation of Labor. While there Bourguiba broadcast in Arabic over the "Voice of America." In London he stayed away from left-wingers, whose support he could take for granted—and was invited to broadcast over the BBC. *L'Aurore* of Paris commented acidly: "Do the British hope to get out of their own present difficulties in the Arab world by egging on the Arab League against the French?"

Asked by the diplomatic correspondent of the London *News Chronicle* what he would do if the French continued to stall in instituting reforms, Bourguiba answered, "If the French resist our demands we will organize strikes and demonstrations." And if these are suppressed? "We will fight." He also made it clear that he expected American pressure to prevent the French from precipitating an armed clash. If the French and Tunisians fought, he pointed out, "Tunisia would go through a dangerous period which would not be a matter of indifference to powers interested in the stability of the Mediterranean world." He said he would tell the Americans: "You want military bases in Tunisia? Very well. It is only from us, the Tunisians, that you can get them. Moreover, if our movement fails, the Tunisian people, in despair, will turn to the Communists, and a vital strategic area will be lost to the West."

FOR Bourguiba the use of force is a last resort because his small country of 3,500,000 people can hardly hope to defeat the troops the French can send from other parts of North Africa and France itself. Before allowing his country to be ravaged like Indo-China, he wants to be sure he cannot succeed by direct negotiation or by appealing to world opinion through the United Nations. It was for this reason that he displayed such patience in Paris in the summer of 1950 when the French government acted as if, like its Bourbon ancestors, it had forgotten nothing and learned nothing. The Quai d'Orsay spokesman who said that Bourguiba represented nobody but himself evoked a ghostly procession of die-hard colonials, including the British leader who had dismissed Gandhi as a "naked little fakir."

When Foreign Minister Robert Schuman conceded, "We cannot maintain the system of direct French rule forever," and promised that "internal autonomy," though not independence, would be established eventually by gradual political reforms, Bourguiba decided "it would be criminal not to grasp the hand stretched out toward us." But it proved to be a slippery hand. Bourguiba permitted the secretary of Neo-Destour to join the Cabinet on the assumption that it would have increased powers. The French did allow the Resident General to be replaced as head of the Cabinet by a Tunisian Prime Minister, but the counter-signature of the Resident General was still required. In consequence almost 200 ministerial decisions were frozen in 1951. The promised proportion of Tunisian appointments was not made. Promised local self-government was blocked by the French insistence that the Tunisians give representation even in municipal governments to French settlers in Tunisia.

The 150,000 French who demand permanent political rights commensurate with their present control of the Tunisian economy and government consider Bourguiba their greatest menace. Any political reform which deprives them of an absolute veto over the future of 3,500,000 Tunisians is denounced as the "abdication" of the "French presence" in a country whose sovereignty France is supposed to be only "protecting." These colonials maintain a strong lobby in Paris, which is particularly influential in the Radical Party.

Habib Bourguiba

After almost a year of frustration, the Tunisian Prime Minister went to Paris last October to ask for an all-Tunisian Cabinet—now seven of fifteen ministers are Tunisions—a purely Tunisian Assembly elected by universal suffrage instead of a consultative Grand Council including an equal French section, and the more rapid introduction of Tunisians into the civil service. He was turned down through the influence of the pro-colonialist Radicals in the French Cabinet. On December 15 Foreign Minister Schuman went back on his previous slightly encouraging words and said it was "impossible to exclude" French residents in Tunisia "from participation in the political institutions of the country." Simultaneously the French Cabinet recalled the Resident General, M. Perillier, who had gone to Tunis from Algeria with a reputation for conservatism but had become convinced that reforms were overdue in Tunisia.

When Bourguiba left Paris for Tunis a fortnight later he made it clear that the Tunisians could never allow the French settlers a privileged position. "There is not a country in whose political institutions a foreigner participates if he has not integrated himself into the country by accepting its nationality. . . . Only the friendly mediation of the United Nations could bring these negotiations out of their impasse by permitting a renewal of conversations on reasonable grounds and with serious chances of success." He did not pretend France would accept this. Once home he informed the Paris

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Monde: "We will resume our 1946 position: (1) we will proclaim the sovereignty and independence of Tunisia; (2) we will demand negotiation of a new treaty which will fix the date of the transfer of sovereignty, accord the foreign communities the guaranties they ask, and give France the military, diplomatic and cultural rights that it considers essential. We return to this route, that of immediate independence, only because the other, that of progressive reforms, has been blocked."

RELEASED TIME

The Parent's Right to Choose

BY EDWARD S. GREENBAUM

PLEASE excuse Johnny on Wednesday afternoons to take his music lesson." Public schools grant such requests. Parents may also have their children excused to take dancing lessons or to observe Yom Kippur or Good Friday. The New York State education law authorizes such absences, recognizing the parent's right to have a say in his child's education. No one has challenged the right of the state to comply with such requests. But if the parent requests that his child be excused from school to receive religious instruction, there are violent protests from many quarters.

The same law which permits absence for religious observances and music and dancing lessons permits absence to receive religious instruction. This part of the law, it is claimed, violates the doctrine of separation between church and state, and the issue is now before the Supreme Court of the United States. A bitter fight is being waged against it. It is said that the state has no right to comply with a parent's request that his child be excused from school even one hour a week to receive religious instruction. The parents of the 200,000 Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant children who make these requests are told: "You may not have your children receive religious instruction during school hours. We have the constitutional right to stop you." This strange position is taken by liberal organizations which usually seek to uphold the rights of the individual.

Excusing children from school for religious instruction is nothing new. The plan is called "released time" and it has been in operation since 1914. Almost every state has some released-time plan. About 2,000,000 children in the country participate in it. Here in New York we have had the program for many years. The atheists attacked its constitutionality over twenty-five years ago, but it was unanimously sustained by our highest state court, the Court of Appeals. Benjamin N. Cardozo was then chief judge of that distinguished court, which included Judges Irving Lehman and Cuthbert Pound. Judge Pound wrote the opinion for the court. After referring to the fact that a child could "take outside instruction in music or dancing without violating the provisions of the compulsory-education law, either in letter or in spirit," he held that absence for religious instruction was likewise permissible. He said: "It is impossible to say, as a matter of law, that the slightest infringement of constitutional right or abuse of statutory requirement has been shown in this case."

The released-time program continued. In 1940 the Legislature passed a statute authorizing the Commissioner of Education to establish uniform rules for the operation of the program. Governor Herbert H. Lehman approved the law. In so doing he said: "A few people have given voice to fears that the bill violates the principles of our government. These fears, in my opinion, are groundless. The bill does not introduce anything new into our public-school system, nor does it violate the principles of our public educational system."

Experience has shown that Governor Lehman was correct. The fears of the opponents of the law have proved groundless. This is borne out by an objective survey made by the Public Education Association, which has constantly objected to the released-time program. There was no evidence, the report said, that the program made for group disrespect. Only 26 of the 327 principals and teachers interviewed opposed the plan. Some believed that released time made for inter-group respect. One said: "When the Jewish children participated there was a pleasant feeling about everyone going. Now the situation is neutral." All seemed to agree that the program "is still conducted amid considerable controversy." The Public Education Association accordingly recommended that if the fight against released time were continued, the community groups who oppose it should "take some pressure off the school system in order that teachers and administrators can creatively work out the

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best possible program." It pointed out that the continued opposition had a "deadening" effect and might defeat whatever value the program had.

In some places the released-time program has been abused. This was the case in Champaign, Illinois. There, without the authorization of any state law, religious instruction was given in public-school classrooms during school hours. The religious teachers were engaged with the approval of the Superintendent of Schools. Enrolment cards were distributed by the regular teachers and in some cases paid for by the school. The class teacher usually remained at her desk while the religious instruction was given. The United States Supreme Court, in March, 1948, in the case of *McCollum* v. *Board of Education,* held that this program violated the provisions of the Constitution. Although the Champaign released-time program obviously differed radically from that in New York, the Supreme Court decision in the McCollum case provided fuel for another attack on the New York plan. The American Civil Liberties Union and other groups supported it. The lower courts sustained the law. They pointed out the obvious differences between the New York and the Champaign program. In July, 1951, the case reached the Court of Appeals, where its constitutionality was again upheld in a six-to-one decision. In its opinion the court enumerated the factors in the Champaign case and said that none of them were present in New York, where the instruction must be outside the school building and there is neither supervision nor approval of religious teachers by the school system.

THE court analyzed carefully the arguments that the law breached the wall between church and state and violated the First Amendment. This amendment forbids the making of laws "respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." The court said: "Neither of these prohibitions, in language or meaning, has anything whatever to do with this released-time system." It declared that the argument against the law "construes the First Amendment by ignoring its language, its history, and its obvious meaning," and that released-time programs clearly do not establish a religion or prohibit "the free exercise thereof."

On the contrary, they encourage such free exercise. Forbidding released time would prevent parents from fully exercising their rights to give their children religious instruction in the faith of their choosing. The court referred to the absolute right of parents to direct the rearing and education of their children, and quoted from a recent decision of the United States Supreme Court which said: "It is cardinal with us that the custody, care, and nurture of the child resides first in the parent, whose primary function and freedom include preparation for obligations the state can neither supply nor hinder." These rights of the parent were referred to as "true and absolute rights under natural law, antedating, and superior to, any human constitution or statute."

The court noted that the Constitution does not demand that no friendly gesture between church and state should be countenanced. It accordingly upheld the lower courts and dismissed the petition to hold the law unconstitutional. But the fight continued, and the issue is now before the United States Supreme Court.

LEGAL questions are not the only ones involved in this fight against released time. There are others as important. That we may not like the released-time program is beside the point. While we may think it preferable for our children to receive their religious instruction after school hours or on Saturday or Sunday, others may feel differently. The state Legislature has said that such absences at the parents' request may be allowed. The Court of Appeals referred to the objections in these words: "What petitioners are saying is that they dislike the whole enterprise and consider it socially undesirable. These are predilections, not questions of law."

The released-time program is the law of New York. Its constitutionality has been uniformly and finally upheld by all the courts of this state. Those of us who do not want to avail ourselves of its provisions need not do so. In New York City the parents of about 120,000 children do want it. Their children—about one-fourth of those attending public school—participate in the program. Most of them are Catholic, but many are Jewish and Protestant. It is difficult for them and their parents to understand why those who oppose released time and want no part of it have any "right" to prevent others from using it as provided by the law of the state.

That we should fight any real inroads on the vital doctrine of separation of church and state is elementary. But we should not blindly follow slogans and patterns. We should not line ourselves up on one side of a question just because other liberals, or so-called liberals, are taking that position. We should determine for ourselves whether the popular side is the right side.

Are the dangers in the New York program real or imagined? Experience of many years has failed to show their reality. Nor have we any basis for believing that this program, if properly administered, will ever constitute a threat to the doctrine of separation of church and state. But we do know that those who believe in the program deeply resent the action of those who seek to deprive them of the right the state has given them to bring up their children in the way they think proper. Bitterness and group hostility are the inevitable result.

The released-time program is not perfect. Its most ardent supporters do not claim that it is. However, they are making an earnest effort to correct its imperfections, including those which might threaten the proper boundaries between church and state. The Greater New York

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Coordinating Committee on Released Time of Jews, Protestants, and Roman Catholics is devoting itself to this task. It believes that the released-time program, if properly administered, can bring valuable religious and moral instruction to many children. It seeks the cooperation of members of all religious faiths to make the plan a vital force for better group relations and increased inter-group respect.

That the fight against released time has been carried to the United States Supreme Court is not surprising. But it is surprising and disturbing to find it made by those who usually fight for civil liberties and against intolerance. A "victory" for them—if they win—may well prove a major defeat. And it may be a crushing setback for those who seek to improve inter-group relations and protect the rights of the individual.

RELEASED TIME

A Crutch for Churches

BY V. T. THAYER

THERE is a significant difference between the occasional excusing of children from school for a music lesson, a dancing lesson, a family festival, or even the observance of a religious holiday and releasing them each week for religious instruction. Religious instruction on released time requires the public school to organize its program so that children whose parents request it may drop their regular work periodically to attend religious classes without missing any vital instruction. No matter how few those who go may be, the children who remain, and the teaching staff, are expected to suspend all significant operations while their fellows attend the church school.

What to do with the children who do not enrol in the released-time program is a problem. No advanced work may be undertaken, since this would disadvantage the released timers. Nor can the substitute activity be too interesting or valuable from the child's point of view, since this would constitute "unfair competition" with the religious instruction and be interpreted as an unfriendly act. The principals of schools in Chicago, where less than 10 per cent of the pupils were on released-time programs, received orders that "nothing significant shall be taught the children not taking religious instruction so that those taking it shall not be penalized for their absence." Indeed, the educational price paid has sometimes been so high that it has led to the program's abandonment. In Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, for example, the Board of Education observed that "in order to meet this problem, there must be a curtailment of activities in the school which often are the actual character-building agencies of the school itself."

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These facts render more than pertinent the grounds upon which the United States Supreme Court, in the famous McCollum case, based its decision that the released-time program in force in Champaign, Illinois, violated the principle of separation of church and state. The core of this decision would seem to be as applicable to programs off the school grounds as to those inside the building. Said the court:

> The operation of the state's compulsory educational system thus assists and is integrated with the program of religious instruction carried on by separate religious sects. Pupils compelled by law to go to school for secular education are released in part from their legal duty upon the condition that they attend the religious classes. This is beyond all question a utilization of the tax-established and tax-supported public-school system to aid religious groups to spread their faith. And it falls squarely under the ban of the First Amendment (made applicable to the states by the Fourteenth).

In sustaining the released-time program as conducted in New York City, the New York Court of Appeals by-passed the words of the Supreme Court just quoted. Not so, however, the Circuit Court of Missouri, when the Board of Education in St. Louis decided to ignore the opinion of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction and to continue to hold classes on released time but off the school grounds and, as in New York City, without enforcement of attendance by the public schools. The court enjoined this practice, stating in part:

> The differences [between the St. Louis case and the McCollum case] are inconsequential. The controlling fact in both cases is that the public schools are used to aid sectarian groups to disseminate their doctrines. Whether these sectarian classes are conducted in school buildings or elsewhere can make no difference, since attendance upon them during compulsory school hours is deemed attendance at school. Failure to exercise super-

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vision over the instruction of religion and to require the keeping of proper attendance records does not make the program legal; it merely indicates laxity on the part of school authorities. The fact that any sect may participate in this program is immaterial; the public school cannot be used to aid one religion or to aid all religions.

Whether the opinion of the New York Court of Appeals or that of the Circuit Court of Missouri is to stand is a question which the United States Supreme Court will doubtless soon decide, since the New York decision is now before it on appeal.

THAT a religious minority demands released time for religious instruction has confused those liberals who identify the wishes of a minority with the rights of an individual. This is, of course, both an absurd and a dangerous view, which leads directly along the road to dictatorship. We should remind ourselves that the strict confinement of the public schools to secular instruction is the direct application to education of the principle of separation of church and state which Americans have recognized as indispensable to religious freedom. This principle was established on the national level through the First Amendment and on the state level through state constitutional provisions and legislative acts after painful experience with a contrary policy. The American people had experimented both with a state church and with a policy of "cooperation" between government and religion on a "non-discriminatory" basis. The latter, they had learned, is as impossible to realize as the first is unjust. Consequently, they concluded, in Madison's words, that religion should be made "wholly exempt" from the "cognizance" of "Civil Society." It was not that they loved religion less but that they saw in separation the sole condition of freedom for the religious conscience.

This policy, the Supreme Court decided in *McCollum* v. *Board of Education*, now binds both the federal and the state governments. But long before the First Amendment was made applicable to the states through the Fourteenth, the basis of its restrictions in matters of religion and education was found, as Justice Frankfurter states, in "the whole experience of our people. Zealous watchfulness against the fusion of secular and religious activities by government itself, through any of its instruments but especially through its educational agencies, was the democratic response of the American community to the particular needs of a young and growing nation, unique in the composition of its people." Those who oppose religious instruction on released time recognize, to continue with Justice Frankfurter, "the need of a democratic society to educate its children . . . in an atmosphere free from pressures in a realm in which pressures are most resisted and where conflicts are most bitterly engendered."

But let us return to "the rights of the individual." Some liberals seem to assume that a parent's right to rear and educate his child is annulled unless the public school cooperates in a religious-education program. Surely this is too strained a point. There is no lack of opportunity for religious education under family and church auspices outside school hours. Indeed, as was pointed out in the Champaign case, if it were merely a matter of finding an hour for religious education, time could be set aside on Saturday or Sunday, or the school day might be shortened "to allow all children to go where they please, leaving those who so desire to go to a religious school." But this does not satisfy the religious authorities. Why? Because then it would not be possible to use the authority or the influence of the school to bring about attendance at the church school.

Moreover, we should distinguish between the parent's right to use the school for his own ends and the right of the child. Each child, irrespective of his background, is entitled to an education in the public school free from the divisiveness which an emphasis upon religious differences inevitably causes. Objective studies of released-time programs have confirmed again and again their unfortunate effects upon children. Only in the religiously homogeneous community do they operate without accentuating feelings and attitudes altogether different from those their exponents profess to value. As the Board of Education in Harrisburg pointed out when it abandoned its program, "The public school generally has been our most democratic institution, and any program which emphasizes the differences of the pupils is harmful. News items from cities where there has been 'released time' for religious education indicate that there is now more intolerance, discrimination, and disunity than previously existed in the public schools of those communities."

Experience with the released-time program in New York City is no exception to this rule. Three separate studies conducted by the Public Education Association since the inception of the program in 1941 have supplied the data upon which the association has based its consistent opposition. These studies reveal an increase in truancy in the cooperating schools while the program is in progress. They cite numerous instances in which teachers, despite instructions to the contrary, have exercised pressure upon the children to enrol in religious classes. They show the waste of teachers' and pupils' time during the absence of the released timers. And while, according to the most recent report, little evidence was found that "the released-time program, as it operates here, makes for disrespect" of religious differences, it is significant that this conclusion could be stated only negatively.

A final objection to religious instruction on released time follows from the fact that it encourages the school

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and the church alike to neglect its unique function in character education. Both institutions are charged with this task, but their opportunities and their contributions are not identical. It is the responsibility of the school to educate for common values—honesty and fair play, truthfulness and temperance, self-control and responsibility, respect for personality, and the like. To be sure, religious instruction can and often does promote these virtues, but there is reason to believe that they are strengthened rather than weakened when they are envisaged as independent of sectarian doctrine and theological dogma. Insistence on religious instruction—either inside the school or outside but in cooperation with the school—as an indispensable condition of moral education both detracts from the significance of the school's unique function in the area of common values and encourages teachers and administrative officers to shift their responsibility to the church.

On the other hand, the churches weaken their educational programs when they resort to the schools as to a crutch. Were the churches now providing vigorous and vital religious education they would not need to call upon the schools to act as recruiting agents. And as long as they continue to lean upon the schools they will be encouraged to postpone the day of reform. Released-time programs merely perpetuate a type of religious education that requires new blood in the interest of religion.

The comment of Dr. John Haynes Holmes seems to sum up this final point:

> Here is the church rushing to the state for aid and comfort in supporting educational activities which, for one reason or another, it cannot support itself. And here is the state taking over a highly religious function of the church in giving away a precious period of time, to be used in the church's interest.
>
> What the churches need is to be intelligent, free, militant, and united in the ethical and social aspects of their faith. When the churches meet this test, they will have no need of "released time."

Political Prospects in Korea

PLAN FOR A SETTLEMENT

BY YONGJEUNG KIM

IF AN armistice finally descends on the ruins of Korea, the world will be entitled to see it as the essential preliminary to a peaceful solution of the main problem, but unless immediate steps are then taken to settle the urgent question of Korean unification and independence, a bigger explosion can be expected.

Should Korea be restored to its unhappy pre-war political status, its future would appear bleaker than ever before. Its social and economic structure has been utterly demolished, and its people are dying of hunger, cold, and disease. "Peace" under such circumstances is a mockery. A Korea left divided as well as ruined will have gone through untold agony to no avail, and the United Nations will have fought for nothing.

Since the U. N. was created "to maintain international peace and security," it has a responsibility to provide an opportunity for the Korean people to determine their national future. If it allows the great powers to keep their underlings in the saddle, it will not only leave the festering problem unsolved and thus invite another disaster but forfeit world confidence in its usefulness.

"We dislike both Syngman Rhee and Kim Il-sung, but whom else can we support?" has been a standing question in the West. It sounds logical enough, but actually it shows little regard for the Koreans' own interests. Why should not the Korean people as a whole be helped this time instead of a particular individual or group?

It is unrealistic to look for a "good man" in the present circumstances. How could such a man rise to prominence under either of the present regimes? How long could he stand on his feet? Many a good man already has been liquidated, north and south of the Thirty-eighth Parallel. Anyone against Rhee is a "red," anyone against Kim a "reactionary." After bitter experience the Korean people, except a few who have personal axes to grind, would reject any foreign-sponsored leader if they were permitted to express their free will.

In accordance with the South Korean constitution, the National Assembly elected Rhee President. His term expires next summer. Who will be his successor is obviously a "hot" political question. Strong opposition to Rhee has been developing in the National Assembly, and his re-election will probably not be possible unless force is used. ("Force" means just that: it is possible, although unconstitutional, to imprison opposition legislators; this was done in March, 1950, with thirteen National Assemblymen.)

Aware of the difficulties ahead, Rhee's government

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recently proposed two constitutional amendments: election of the President by popular vote, and creation of an upper house for the legislature. Its motives were not obscure. Rhee would have an excellent chance of reelection in a "popular" vote under the eye of the police, the armed forces, and the terroristic Tae Han Youth Corps. Legislative opposition could be blocked by a division of the Assembly into two chambers. The proposal for popular election of the President had considerable propaganda appeal, particularly to American ears, but the National Assembly understood the real purpose of both amendments and defeated them on January 18 by a vote of 143 to 19.

IN THE interest of world peace and the survival of the Korean people, the U. N. should make every effort to obtain a final settlement of the Korean problem. We have negotiated a cease-fire—however uneasy—with the Communist military leaders. Next we can try to negotiate with the Communist diplomats for Korean unification and independence.

It may be futile to negotiate with the Communists except on a basis of strength. Nevertheless, we must not let the hope of peace die for lack of effort. While it would be unrealistic to expect either Korean regime to offer an equitable basis for unity, a solution could undoubtedly be found that would meet with the approval of the suppressed Korean people. It probably would be along the following lines:

1. Creation of a Peace Committee, on which Near Eastern, Asian, and/or other neutrals would be represented to expedite the unification of Korea and the restoration of its independence. This body should be empowered to act as an interim national authority until a central Korean government could be established through national elections. Its membership should be approved by the belligerents but not include their representatives. It might be composed of outstanding individuals nominated by Sweden, Mexico, Indonesia, Brazil, Egypt, India, Syria, Burma, and Israel but not politically accountable to their respective governments.

2. Organization of an advisory body to assist the Peace Committee, composed of one Korean from each province. These should be men of good reputation who at no time served under either of the present regimes and were not Japanese collaborators.

3. Dissolution of the two existing governments, neither of which enjoys popular confidence. Unless this is done, there will be no "free elections." If the leaders of both sides would resign voluntarily, they would render a great service to the Korean nation and to the world. They need not fear a general election if their claims of popular confidence are true.

4. Immediate establishment of local governments, chosen by local popular elections supervised by the Peace Committee, to take over civil and police functions from the present regimes.

5. Withdrawal of all foreign forces and simultaneous demobilization of all Korean troops, under the supervision of the Peace Committee, to create a peaceful atmosphere before the general election.

La Palme

"The Land Is Not Dry Yet."

6. Establishment of a national government after the general election has been held.

7. Neutralization of Korea through a guaranty by the United Nations and China to respect Korean independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity and to seek no special political or economic privileges.

8. An immediate start on the reconstruction and rehabilitation of Korea by all nations under U. N. leadership, with a schedule that envisions completion in three years as a symbol of human conscience and a fitting mosphere before the general election.

Practically everything has to be rebuilt. The entire nation is destitute. In order to assuage and win over the troubled minds of not only the Koreans but other Asians, the Korean misery should be rooted out with a fighting zeal. Donald Kingsley, general director of the U. N. Korean Reconstruction Agency, has stated that a conservative estimate of reconstruction costs in South Korea would be $2,000,000,000 and that some estimates run as high as $8,000,000,000. He conceded that the U. N.'s proposed appropriation of $250,000,000 for the purpose in the first year is only a "drop in the bucket."

While the non-Communist world has accepted some responsibility for reconstructing Korea, the Communists remain silent on this matter. They must, however, share the obligation. On this point there should be no equivocation. Moreover, neither the non-Communist world nor the Soviet bloc should look upon its contribution to the rehabilitation of Korea as charity. It is clearly a duty.

It is unthinkable that the statesmen of the sixty United Nations cannot settle the Korean problem. But if they employ outmoded, face-saving techniques, are dominated by self-interest, and ignore basic principles which our common sense tells us are correct, we shall be surrendering our destiny to the knowing or unwitting architects of world anarchy. Not until Korea has been given an opportunity to reunite and become independent, will peace be attained and collective security realized.

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MAKE PEACE WITH CHINA!

BY W. MAC MAHON BALL

PEACE with Communist China is the prerequisite to a political settlement in Korea. But peace with China is indivisible. The United Nations cannot be at peace with China about Korea if the United States is not at peace with China about Formosa.

On paper there are two possible ways of achieving this peace. The United Nations may make China feel that it faces military destruction if it refuses to accept the U. N. terms for Korea. It may hope that Communist China will be afraid to go on with a long war of attrition in Korea, afraid that increased American military aid to Chiang Kai-shek will encourage him to attack the mainland, afraid that U. N. planes will bomb bases in Manchuria; and these fears, it may hope, will help Communist China to find wisdom.

Such a policy can succeed only if the Peking government (a) knows the U. N. terms for a settlement in Korea —no one else seems to know; (b) believes that a settlement in Korea will end the threat of American support for Chiang's plans of conquest—it would hardly make sense for China to accept a U. N. decision on Korea if the actual result were merely to enable the United States to divert military help from Syngman Rhee to Chiang Kai-shek; (c) feels that the risks of thwarting the wishes of the Soviet Union are less than the risks of thwarting the wishes of the United Nations.

It seems to me unrealistic to think that in these circumstances Communist China will succumb to the fears we are trying to instil in it. I can see no chance of a peaceful settlement in Korea until the Peking government becomes convinced that the United States and the United Nations have firmly renounced all intentions to aid or abet any military effort to undermine its authority. For Peking the first priority is to survive. Before long Russia's national ambitions may well clash with China's, but this can hardly occur while Peking feels that its existence is threatened by the military power of the West.

It is idle to pretend it possible to get a satisfactory settlement in Korea that is not part of a wider settlement in the Far East. A settlement might be sought along the following lines: (1) the cessation of all military help to the Chinese Nationalists and any other group planning military attack on Communist China; (2) an armistice leaving the United Nations in temporary control of South Korea; (3) an arrangement by which after, say, a six months' cooling-off period, elections might be held under the supervision of neutral observers for a parliament for the whole of Korea; (4) the subsequent prompt withdrawal of all foreign military forces.

Even if such a procedure is possible, it will not guarantee "democracy" in Korea. Any Korean government is likely to feel it must use its police force to liquidate the opposition. A right government will dub its opponents "Communist conspirators and terrorists"; to a Communist government all opponents will be "national traitors and lackeys of foreign imperialism." But this is a problem that only the Koreans can solve.

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SAFEGUARD DEMOCRACY!

BY OWEN LATTIMORE

WE ARE in real danger of a political débâcle in Korea. After a year and a half of war to defend South Korea against aggression, not a single popular South Korean military hero has emerged—not even a second-rater who merits a build-up in the newspapers. Nor is there any sign of a popular political hero who can be placed before the world as the worthy representative of a democratic cause.

We are now in a position to negotiate a military settlement based on a much stronger defensive position than the original wide-open line of division along the Thirty-eighth Parallel. But if, after such a settlement, the world finds that there is no vigorous, visibly democratic, genuinely Korean-led cause of democracy in South Korea—that only the same incompetent, tired old reactionaries crawl out of the ruins, asking America to put them back in business—then our future in Asia is black indeed.

Strong measures are needed to retrieve the situation. It should be recalled that our original intervention had the majority backing of free, non-Communist Asia because the issue was clear: a bold military aggression had marched across an internationally recognized line of demarcation. That clear issue, readily understood by the newly independent countries of Asia, sensitive about their own frontiers and their sovereign rights, was unfortunately blurred by General MacArthur's "home by Christmas" attempt to thrust all the way to the Yalu.

Only one kind of measure, I believe, has any chance at this late hour of restoring international confidence and at the same time providing for the creation of a healthy political atmosphere in South Korea. The United Nations, which should have been represented in the armistice negotiations internationally and not by the United States alone, must be fully represented at any conference determining the political future of South Korea. At the very least Canada and Australia should be included, because of their interest in the Pacific, and India and Pakistan because of their importance as non-Communist Asian countries.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Weizsaecker: Good German vs. Good European

BY H. STUART HUGHES

THE firm of Henry Regnery, in Chicago, which appears to specialize in books dedicated to the moral rehabilitation of Germany, has now brought out a translation of the memoirs of Baron von Weizsäcker, state secretary of the German Foreign Office from 1938 to 1943.* Ordinarily this position —which corresponded to that of a permanent under secretary drawn from the ranks of career diplomats—would have been one of enormous influence. It is Weizsäcker's contention that in his case this influence was almost nil, and that where it did exist it was exerted solely in the interests of preserving peace. In early 1949 an American Military Tribunal found otherwise, condemning Weizsäcker to seven years' imprisonment. The contrast of these two theses gives historical and psychological interest to what would otherwise be a mediocre book.

Both from a literary standpoint and from the standpoint of physical presentation, Weizsäcker's memoirs are disappointing. They are poorly organized, ill-balanced, episodic, and their style is graceless and frequently ambiguous. To what extent these latter difficulties stem from the original or the translation it is impossible to tell, since neither translator nor publisher has seen fit to add to the memoirs themselves even a paragraph of introduction or explanation. For a publication of historical source material, this omission is almost unprecedented. It is nearly universal practice to have some historian or other responsible specialist write an introduction setting the memoirs in their larger framework, alerting the reader to the special pleading in which even the most scrupulous statesman reminiscing on his past must occasionally indulge, and filling in the gaps and correcting the errors, calculated or accidental, in the original text. In the case of memoirs so full of booby traps as Weizsäcker's, this sort of intellectual orientation is particularly necessary. Yet we find no word explaining the circumstances under which the book was written, comparing it with the accounts of other participants in the internal opposition to Hitler—Hassell, Kordt, Schlabrendorff, and the like—or with the German Foreign Office documents now being published, or finally, and most important, analyzing the evidence presented at Weizsäcker's trial.

In the absence of such an introduction or of thorough independent research—which the present reviewer confesses he has not made—it is impossible to form an adequate estimate of Weizsäcker's book. In what follows I shall assume that Weizsäcker's account of his activities is substantially accurate and shall try to do no more than test the limitations and the internal coherence of what is essentially an argument for the defense.

Weizsäcker's major contention is that in 1938, hating Nazism and convinced that Hitler was about to plunge Europe into a war that would be catastrophic both for his own country and for Western civilization, he consented to serve under Ribbentrop as state secretary with the sole purpose of sabotaging his chief's aggressive designs. He knew that the task he had undertaken was desperately difficult and probably hopeless, and that he would get little credit or understanding for his efforts. He felt that he was making a sacrifice of his own personal reputation in the interests of peace—and that in so doing he was behaving both as a good German and as a good European.

In support of this contention Weizsäcker unfolds a record of high-principled duplicity unparalleled in the annals of diplomacy. Treading warily, ever alert to possible detection, he spun for five heartbreaking years a fragile network of intrigue, which he fondly hoped could hold back the German war machine. Unable to avow his purposes except to a few intimates, he dealt in delaying actions, veiled warnings, and calculated indiscretions to the ambassadors of potential enemies. To further his ideal ends, he stooped to an outward conformism that revolted his aristocratic soul: membership in the National Socialist Party, attendance at the social functions at which the Nazi leaders paraded their vulgarity, and even acceptance of a high honorary rank in the S. S. In early 1943, sick of a struggle that had lost any semblance of practical reality, he requested and obtained a transfer to the German embassy to the Vatican, where he spent the remainder of the war. He left Berlin having incurred nothing worse than Ribbentrop's hatred—but not, apparently, his complete distrust—and from Hitler a puzzled mixture of suspicion and grudging respect.

Despite its ambiguity, this record of tenacious foot-dragging would be most impressive—if Weizsäcker in the end had had anything to show for it. But it had all been, as he himself manfully confesses, "in vain, and even worse than in vain." As a political prognosticator Weizsäcker was nearly always wrong: in 1933 he considered the Nazi regime a transitory phenomenon; in 1934 he discounted the possibility of an understanding between Hitler and Mussolini; in 1938 he thought Britain and France would fight for Czechoslovakia; in 1939 he gravely overestimated the difficulty of negotiating the Nazi-Soviet pact; in 1940 he was "completely surprised" by the quick collapse of the French army. These errors were all common to informed people at the time. But in Weizsäcker's case their total effect was catastrophic. For they made him constantly underestimate the strength and staying power of the political forces with which he was engaged in secret combat.

Aside from a contribution to the Munich settlement—a dubious claim to the gratitude of posterity—Weizsäcker was unable to do anything tangible to preserve the peace or to limit the war. True enough, for certain of his failures the blindness of the Western Allies was heavily to blame. It is now well established that the British knew in September, 1938, that the military and Foreign Office opposition was prepared

* "Memoirs of Ernst von Weizsäcker." Translated by John Andrews. $3.75.

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to put Hitler under arrest to prevent an invasion of Czechoslovakia, and that the Chamberlain government failed to act on this intelligence. And it is also now fairly generally conceded that the Casablanca formula of unconditional surrender was a gratuitous blunder and a heaven-sent gift to Hitler's propagandists. Certainly the British and American governments failed to take the German opposition as seriously as it deserved and in so doing left the German people no alternative but to fight on under Nazi leadership.

Yet when all this is granted, it is difficult to see—at least after 1940—how any other policy on the part of the Allies could particularly have aided what Weizsäcker was trying to do. For Weizsäcker drew a definite line beyond which he would not go in opposing his Nazi masters. He would not work for the defeat of his own country. He "could never have considered . . . the possibility of attacking the German soldiers from behind." Hence his failure, on June 18, 1941, to warn the Soviet Ambassador of the impending German attack—an act, he argues, which "would no longer have held up the disaster" and would simply have "cost the lives of German soldiers." But this was the crux of the whole matter. After the warring nations had been fully engaged, and with a compromise peace obviously out of the question, the only realistic way to work for peace was to work for the defeat of Germany. This was a hard lesson for patriotic Germans to learn, and their reluctance to recognize it was largely responsible for the long delay in carrying out the interminably planned and replanned conspiracy against Hitler's life. Eventually the inner circle of the conspirators realized that they could not avoid the risk of anti-national behavior if they were to take any action at all, and the result was the bomb attempt of July 20, 1944. Perhaps because he differed from the inner circle in this important respect, Weizsäcker evidently remained on the fringes of the conspiracy. It is significant that after the assassination attempt had failed, when hundreds of oppositionists of all sorts were being rounded up for questioning, Weizsäcker was not recalled from Rome to answer for his past activities.

An aristocrat and a former naval officer, who had joined the Foreign Service only after Germany's defeat in the First World War had cut off his naval career, Weizsäcker was basically an old-line German patriot. His book reveals, frequently unconsciously and naively, the virtues and the limitations of this attitude: devotion to the public service, sincere religious feeling, a high standard of personal morality combined with a blunt acceptance of the overriding claims of *raison d'état*, above all, an unquestioning loyalty to the inherited standards of nation and of class. It is a dignified, in many respects an impressive, attitude. But in the unprecedented circumstances in which Germany found itself under the Nazis, this standard of conduct failed to meet the test. In establishing service to the German state as the highest ideal it failed to provide for a situation in which a defiance of traditional national loyalty might be the only recourse against tyranny and universal destruction.

It will be many years before an impartial verdict on Weizsäcker can be rendered. His career is too ambiguous and the distinction between sacrifice and opportunism is too difficult to draw. Meantime, one thing alone is sure: on Weizsäcker's terms, from 1938 to 1943, it proved impossible to be both a good German and a good European. On balance, it was the German who had the upper hand.

The Widening Circle

THE CATHERINE WHEEL. By Jean Stafford. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.

"THE CATHERINE WHEEL" is the most engrossing unsuccessful novel I have read for a very long time. It is unsuccessful because it tries to do too much and because Miss Stafford's attitude toward her subject or subjects is ambiguous. Sometimes she marshals her awareness to achieve a density comparable to that which marked the fine opening chapter of "Boston Adventure." Sometimes she clutters her writing with a multiplicity of matters ineptly crowded together.

The central symbol, for example, is beautifully worked out. The wheel of Saint Catherine was an instrument of torture named for that Egyptian martyr who was subjected to it. Here it represents the long, virginal, imperceptive, and imperceptible torment of Katharine Congreve. She is thirty-eight in the summer of the novel. Nothing has really happened to her since her heart was most conventionally broken twenty years earlier. She is rapidly approaching entire collapse. Her chief nervous symptoms are a feeling which recurs with increasing frequency of being whirled about, wheeling and helpless; and a desire for death. Yet her outer life is serene. Watched over by "her faithful servants," her beauty untouched by any flame, she presides as chatelaine of a great Maine summer house, adorned, from cellar to garret, with objects chosen by generations endowed with impeccable taste.

The everyday Catherine wheel is a kind of fireworks which gushes upward, circles about in brief splendor, and then splutters out. Like it, Katharine's "rarefied world" is an ephemeral pyrotechnical display. When, during a show of fireworks, she is burned to death, one of our last sights of her is as she "ran by herself in a widening circle, fanning the fire until it reached her waist."

But the novel is also about the initiation of her twelve-year-old cousin, Andrew Shipley, into a knowledge of the frailty of human ties. Miss Stafford is very good at recapturing what goes on in the minds of children—"The Mountain Lion" displays this power—but Andrew's difficulties are a distraction never really incorporated into the novel. And he, in turn, has twin sisters, whose blossoming, though intended as a contrast to the sterility of Katharine's life, is a further distraction.

On another level "The Catherine Wheel" is a daydream brought to a violent conclusion. The ordered life of a great house, the objects which adorn it, the way this woman lives are, in their fashion, desirable. Miss Stafford loves them all. Yet she weighs them also with a meaningless irony and, after displaying them lovingly, destroys them with meaningless violence. She seems to be saying that the nerves and the senses *will* have their destructive way. When she destroys what she has so tenderly re-created—her earlier novels end in similar, inconclusive, senseless catastrophes—rage rather than knowledge possesses her during the cold ceremonial preparations to kill, tritely, the thing she loves.

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Occasionally she over-writes. But Miss Stafford's elegant sentences, except when they fall into lists of rare objects connoting vanished elegance, are, unlike most contemporary ornate writing, organic to what one guesses was a large design. They are the sometimes fanciful garment of intentions and perceptions which are never quite successfully organized into a whole because she never knows exactly what she thinks and feels about her subject and also, probably, because private feelings, irrelevant to her purpose, will intrude upon her fiction. She creates, constantly, the impression of seeing clear through everything she writes about to nothing at all.

ERNEST JONES

Inside Negro Europe

NO GREEN PASTURES—THE NEGRO IN EUROPE TODAY. By Roi Ottley. Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.

ROI OTTLEY, like other competent journalists, excels in reporting what he has seen and heard. Many incidents of his travels between 1944 and 1946 in England, France, Germany, Italy, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Greece, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Egypt, the Lebanon, and Palestine might well be included in the anthology of "Insides." Among these are his realistic portrait of "Frisco" Bingham and his former night club in London; the black ghettoes in London and Liverpool; the gay betrothal dinner of a *molta bella* Neapolitan girl and her colored fiance from Sugar Loaf, Mississippi; the frightening experience of an American colored girl in Germany in 1938; the all too brief etching of Tahia Koriem, the beautiful Negroid "Greta Garbo of the Arab world" and of her apartment in Cairo. Even more absorbing is Ottley's special horror, as an American Negro, in witnessing the lynch madness that still ran riot in Milan a few hours after the execution of Mussolini and a half-dozen of his henchmen. If only one selection could be included in such an anthology, I should nominate his description of the forty thousand Black Jews of Tel Aviv, most of whom live in Carmel Sug, "a neglected area very much like a ghetto."

This would have been a better book if the author had devoted all of it to his own experiences, contemporary firsthand accounts, and the immediate background of the race problem. He deemed it necessary, however, to provide a rather extensive historical background of the problem in the various countries. Much of this history, especially the brief biographies of eminent Negroes, makes fascinating reading for those not familiar with the careers of Molineaux, Aldridge, Ignatius Sancho, Samuel Coleridge-Taylor, Browning, Pushkin, the three Dumas, Eugene Chen, Tanner, and others. How much this historical treatment leads to an understanding of Europe today is debatable. It is marred by numerous minor errors, such as misspelled names, and others that are more serious. Cleopatra was certainly not "black." The Germans did not annex the Congo in 1884. Marcus Garvey did not join W. E. B. Du Bois in promoting the first Pan-African Congress, in Paris in 1919. Booker T. Washington dined, not lunched, with President Theodore Roosevelt. (It is necessary to correct this myth because, apparently, Southern susceptibilities would have been less affronted by a lunch than by a dinner.)

The author's thesis that Europe provides "No Green Pastures" for the Negro is subject to many reservations. Some of these he clearly reveals. Low man on the totem pole in France is, indeed, the North African rather than the Negro. I also concur with his comment, frequently repeated, that discrimination in public places and a distant attitude in private gatherings are based rather on caste and class than on race and color. Above all, Ottley cites numerous examples of Negroes, especially in England and France, who have no desire to come to the United States. Let one passage suffice:

> In fact, Negroes in Paris constitute an élite: students, teachers, writers, painters, clergymen, officers, judges, government officials, business and professional men. . . . Negroes hold positions as plant managers, postmasters, executives, and inspectors of buses and subways, and there are Negro seamen, sales girls, streetcar conductors and motormen, hairdressers, and ordinary laborers.

On the whole, however, Ottley amasses evidence to justify his conclusion that Englishmen and Frenchmen in particular have racial prejudices. The Pope, he insists, uttered "the only racially positive note I heard sounded in all Europe." The author also suggests that "in a small way, perhaps, the state of Israel is leading the way to a solution of color problems in the world." And he closes with the conviction that "what America has learned about race relations is of vital importance to a multi-colored world." In actual fact, of course, the truth lies somewhere between this optimistic view and the horrible facts revealed in "We Charge Genocide," the one-sided indictment of the United States published by the Civil Rights Congress.

My principal criticism of this book, which I read at one sitting, is that at

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least in some respects it is already out of date. Conditions in the Western European countries have improved since 1944-46. It is plausible to conclude that this improvement has lessened the competition for jobs which, along with the competition for women folk, is largely responsible for the plight of recent Negro migrants. While full self-government and equal integration have not been achieved, the new constitutions in Jamaica, the Gold Coast, and Nigeria and the presence of some thirty-five deputies from Black Africa and the French West Indies in the French National Assembly should be kept in mind when one evaluates Ottley's analysis of the impact of imperialism on the minds of Englishmen and Frenchmen in 1944-46. I have been in France for only two months, but I have heard several eminent Frenchmen, irrespective of religious affiliation, assert as did the Pope that "'the blacks will one day live like other men.'" RAYFORD W. LOGAN

The Social Uses of Psychoanalysis

PSYCHOANALYSIS, MAN, AND SOCIETY. By Paul Schilder. Arranged by Lauretta Bender. W. W. Norton and Company. $4.

PSYCHOANALYSIS AND POLITICS. By R. E. Money-Kyrle. W. W. Norton and Company. $3.

THE psychiatrist must inevitably ponder the connections between the troubled mental state of the individual and of society as a whole. He knows that the nervous disorders of his patients are inseparable from the tensions that prevail in his environment. He cannot avoid, therefore, casting a professional eye on the apparently irrational antics of the social group. His psychiatric thinking in such matters will naturally tend in the direction of diagnosis and therapeutic recommendations. Of course he is aware of his limitations in the face of political and economic issues that transcend the psychological sphere. Nevertheless, he feels, no doubt rightly, that his own contributions deserve serious consideration within the total scheme of things.

Taking his first tentative step toward the broader view, the psychiatrist is likely to reflect that great nations are, after all, conglomerations of individual men and women. The forces at work between small numbers are also to be found operating universally. From this basic supposition, at least, Dr. Paul Schilder took his point of departure in his recently published book.

Schilder, whose research and teaching activities in Vienna and at Bellevue Hospital in New York made him an outstanding figure, passed away some ten years ago. His widow and able collaborator, Dr. Lauretta Bender, has collected many of his articles, which, together with data from his manuscripts, furnished the material for the present volume—the latest in an impressive succession of posthumous publications that still have a significant message for the contemporary reader.

The basic social unit, as Schilder perceived it, is the "body image"—a concept toward which he made important original contributions. The infant sees himself not as a separate entity but as an image which fuses and blends with those of other personalities that enter into his world—his parents, his siblings, and so on. Only gradually does the sense of the self as a distinct entity evolve, and then only to a limited degree. All through life, new associations with people are being formed in which feelings of identity—or incongruity—establish zones of mutual influence, much like chemical interactions, so that the behavior of each individual is almost always conditioned at each moment by that of others in his past and present.

Schilder next explored and described the various nervous disorders and forms of maladjustment in terms of the basic clashes that arise when there is difficulty integrating one's body image with those that prevail in a particular society. The value of deviations as well as of similarities should be recognized. Moreover, the influence of society itself constitutes a vital element in the shaping of each individual body image; a disorganized society must inevitably produce disorganized men and women.

The interplay of personalities during group therapy—a field in which he was a pioneer—gave Dr. Schilder the opportunity to study social forces in direct action. He gained the conviction that the factors which proved beneficial to the members of a small group would also be of value in larger units. The healing influence of the therapist—based on his knowledge and good-will—could be taken over by an enlightened and well-disposed government. The healthful impact which each member of the group could be induced to exert on his fellows as he came to understand them and himself better could be extended over an indefinitely wide range.

Economic problems naturally cast their inexorable shadows upon the scene, Schilder agreed, but in the end must themselves be calculated in terms of human needs and human labor. The laws that govern the human mind must enter into all social phenomena. The disturbances within a culture reveal patterns basically analogous to the neuroses of individuals. Psychological insight should therefore be invoked in treating the maladies of nations.

A similar view is taken by R. E. Money-Kyrle in his "Psychoanalysis and Politics." Money-Kyrle is an English lay analyst who served on an official commission investigating the Nazi mentality in Germany after the war. Where Schilder proceeded from the analysis of the individual to that of the state, Money-Kyrle reverses the process and undertakes to assess the state according to the character of the populace. He puts forward the interesting proposition that a government may be judged morally by the type of personality that flourishes under its regime.

This intriguing idea, unfortunately, cannot be adequately developed by the author because of the artificial and questionable constructs that he devises. For both men and nations he invents a measuring rod that purportedly extends from their primitive "authoritarian" depths to their more advanced "humanistic consciences." Authoritarianism and humanism in persons and governments alike are absolute and clearly defined entities, as Money-Kyrle conceives them, and are supposed to represent opposite ends in the order of biological evolution. To validate his ideas he invokes the controversial theorems of Melanie Klein, which have found little acceptance among the psychoanalysts of this country.

The application of these concepts to contemporary politics is scarcely convincing. On the Money-Kyrle scale the

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British Tory emerges—understandably enough—as an archaic relic of the authoritarian stage of development. In his unconscious he is probably afflicted with a horrible apparition of a phallic mother who manages to look very much like a socialist. The pacifist, on the other hand, is apparently an unfortunate individual who got that way because his parents quarreled so dreadfully during his childhood. Such "psyching" seems slightly amateurish and even a little on the primitive side of the Money-Kyrle scale. In fact, the impression grows with reading that the only proper outcome of humanistic evolution is a British Laborite, favorably disposed to rearmament and committed to rather definite views on a wide variety of questions.

MARK KANZER

Illustration, Illumination

THE FIELDS OF LIGHT. By Reuben A. Brower. Oxford University Press. $3.50.

WHAT a happy title for a book of criticism, and how happily the text lives up to the title! Mr. Brower's experiment in critical reading exacts of the student close attention and considerable use of his brains. The method requires that the design of the work under study be traced through line-by-line search for the key images, metaphors, symbols, and the links that bind these together, so that in the end the imaginative integrity that fuses the whole may be understood, and enjoyed. This book is not for the lazy; it is strenuous going, this analytic appreciation, but it leads, ultimately, as a quotation from Henry James indicates, to "the Beautiful Gate of Enjoyment."

Mr. Brower demonstrates his system with short poems by Blake and Frost, sonnets by Donne and Hopkins, Keats's Ode to Autumn, two poems by Herbert, Marianne Moore's Roses Only, Donne again, the sonnet beginning "At the round earth's imagin'd corners" and The Extasie, Yeats's Two Songs from a Play; thence, on a larger scale, he has us work through "The Tempest," "Mrs. Dalloway," Pope's "Epistle to Richard Boyle," "Of the Use of Riches," "Pride and Prejudice," and "A Passage to India."

It should be obvious from the above that Mr. Brower's taste is good, his capacity for appreciation catholic, and his method flexible. Less obvious, from so summary a sketch as this, are his good manners and good sense, his willingness to admit that no critical method can entirely explain a work of art, his cheerful acceptance of charges of naivete. "One of my aims is to show that naivete of a certain sort is indispensable in criticism, and pays." A disciple of Leavis, Richards, and Empson, and probably entitled as such to a chair in the academy of the New Criticism, Mr. Brower wears his rue, if it may be called so, with considerable difference. He is high-spirited, gay; "marvelous" and "wonderful" are adjectives which come quickly to his mind. He has no intention whatever of taking the poem from the poet, the novel from the novelist; the minute analysis, however close the observation, never turns into cold dissection, a process, as Louise Bogan has written, rather like boning a shad. Unlike many a latter-day Zoilus, Mr. Brower has an ear, an awareness that the sound matters. Above and over all is the sense of his original admiration for, and delight in, the work which he is presenting, so that his guidance, however strict, is founded on zest; the criticism exists for the work, not the other way round. And if the reader has to use his intellect as well as his emotions to come out where Mr. Brower has started, well what's the matter with that if the journey ends in the fields of light?

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Books in Brief

THE ONLY WAR WE SEEK. By Arthur Goodfriend. Published for Americans for Democratic Action by Farrar, Straus and Young. $3. This is a moving and highly effective picture book on the war between communism and democracy for possession of men's minds and a stinging criticism of some of the weaknesses of American foreign policy. The conquest of China by the Communists, for example, is described in startling contrasts of picture sequences and text illustrating the difference between Communist propaganda and our own, and the unhappy fact is brought home that the Communists were smarter than we, closer to the people, and at least superficially more understanding of the people's problems. Goodfriend was a member of the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction, an E. C. A. outfit trying to work with Chinese farmers, and he saw both the causes and the results as the red tide swept America off the China mainland. Now trouble is brewing among "backward" peoples everywhere, and a generation of Americans that has not yet stopped thinking in terms of the white man's burden must learn "how to fuse our material aid with the spiritual background and political aspirations" of others who hate the very concept of the white man's burden. Goodfriend thinks that we can still do the job—but not unless we stop bragging about our nylon-and-refrigerator society and start helping others to help themselves.

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HEAVENS ON EARTH. By Mark Holloway. Library Publishers. $4.75. A concise and well-organized study of utopian communities in America from 1680 to 1880. The book covers not only those better-known utopias in which fanatics and perfectionists attempted to find a more rational way of life only to discover that spiritual aspiration seldom equated with practical common sense, but also the religious communities such as those established by the Shakers, Rappites, and Zoarites.

Art

MANNY FARBER

AMERICAN art critics, from Leo Stein on, have worked so hard at creating a new hierarchy of painters that to try to knock down one of their idols now is as useless as trying to chip through a bank vault with a teaspoon. Yet one must speak one's mind, and to me the recent Matisse show at the Fifty-third Street Barr and Grill spilled a scandalous secret about "the greatest master of the twentieth century." Far sketchier than it was cracked up to be, the display did touch on most of the high spots of his career, and clearly showed his long industrious progression from thin to thinner painting, both tangibly and philosophically. The inescapable revelation is that the philistines of thirty-odd years ago were nearer than they knew to the truth: Matisse may be skilful and ingenious, but only by the wildest idealistic rationalization can he be credited as a dedicated, ripened artist who has given himself over to feeling, sensuality, "love and life."

The crux of the great myth is that this magnificently endowed pagan has been the most adept of all painters in selecting and juxtaposing exotic, dynamic, gleaming colors; that he flies you close to the sun, in fact, with colors like so many bursts of jet exhaust. Trudging around through those rooms full of dead fish, heavy-breasted nudes, copper vases, flowers, fruits, costume jewelry, silk curtains, Milanese pigeons, and musical bric-a-brac, I found it a collection of embarrassingly insipid themes imprisoned in listless, lusterless, somewhat dirty tones of superficial color. There was on every hand the look of taut old icing plastered thinly over an excessively impelling surface, an icing now going vaguely ocher since the surfaces themselves are yellowing with the passage of time. And the assertive black outlines—on which Matisse has depended as trustingly as Rouault to make his reds and yellows sing—have held their power while everything else has faded, so that today the blacks overwhelm and over-darken almost every harmony. The exhibit verified a long-held hunch of mine that the jolly hedonist's glory has been felicitously created in large part by the brilliancy, gloss, and sparkle of the products of the reproduction industry. The plates in Barr's new book, for instance, are beautiful and scintillating, but hold any one of them up to its original and you will get an awful jolt.

Though miles of criticism have been published about Matisse's early use of Manet's simplicity and flatness, Monet's fragmentation and illumination of color, Cézanne's hatching, modeling, and composition—and finally of the synthesis and maturity that emerged when he picked up some decorative things from the Orient—a glance at his early trivial experiments in impressionism and post-impressionism should convince anyone that M. Mati$$e is an egocentric who cares little, and understands less, about any style other than his own. (If he is really indebted to any of his colleagues, it is to the tricky mannerist putterers who decorate cheap pottery.) Painting with a bland stroke, hardly mixing color on palette or canvas, working neatly, quickly, deftly, and a bit hygienically—like an Old World gentleman—over his "spontaneous" projects—indeed, "tickling" his way along, to borrow frenemy Picasso's devastating verb—he seems never to be deeply involved or even slightly carried away by his work. This was made pretty apparent in a two-reel film of Matisse at work released here a few years back, but nobody paid any attention to it; so the myth goes on that Matisse and sensuality are synonymous, while the latest retrospective showing of his pictures yawns with barrenness, baldness, and an inescapable faggish pseudo-sensibility.

Yet his position *fairly* far up in Western painting—say 73 on a scale from 0 to 100—is insured, I think, by both the variety of his compositions and his superb elegance and mobility as a draftsman. He moves on to a new compartmental arrangement after about three pictures, where a Breughel or a Corot spends from a decade to a lifetime on the same crowded figure eight or inverted pyramid; and his line is as much a thing of genius—if somewhat glib genius—as Cary Grant's dark nonchalant glitter. With one swift, sure, unbroken flip of the wrist he can do more for the female navel, abdomen, breast, and nipple than anyone since Mr. Maidenform.

Aside from this, what has Matisse really given the world to keep for the next thousand years? Certainly nothing more, in the last analysis, than a gigantic dose of that kind of "charm" which has enabled the butterfly battalions, during his reign, to take over almost exclusively in almost every field of creativity from the short story to the symphony, from the straight chair to the department store. The only trouble is that—as we all know but none of us admit—this charm is sterile; it is also getting dated, as are the paintings that were its source. Sterility is the key to the chapel at Vence which Matisse and everybody else call the climax and summation of his career. Here if anywhere is symbolized, in cold white bathroom tiles, cold black doodles, and cold tinted sunlight, the modern artist's breakout of the ego and breakdown of technique and feeling—to say nothing of religious feeling, on which I am no authority. It is a movement in which the artist gets to say whatever he bloody well pleases with an oversimplification and rapidity that make one yearn for the distant era when craftsmanship was so complex that you started at the age of nine as an apprentice, learning to mix colors, prepare panels, and so on. The chapel has naivete, "charm," and a confident slickness; it also does things with filtered light that are breathtakingly pretty. But is the prettiness valid or vulgar, and is this church designed for the worship of God or Matisse?

Henri Matisse never seems to have sweated over a work long enough to give it deep values, plastic or human. It will be said in rebuttal that Matisse himself has never pretended to be more than a nice old rocking chair of an artist, whose goal was to soothe the soul with a pure, calm, equilibrated art. The im-

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poverished surfaces, the absence of rich color chords, the lack of muscle, the lack of heart, make even this claim appear questionable.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

EUGENE BERMAN'S decors for the first three acts of the Metropolitan's new "Rigoletto" are the most astoundingly beautiful and effective I can recall seeing in opera—the only ones comparable with them being Berman's for the ballet "Romeo and Juliet" and the second act of "Giselle." And his costumes for "Rigoletto" also are very beautiful.

When I call the decors effective I have in mind not only their extraordinary living presence as settings for what is seen and heard, but the way the first-act palace interior, with its levels and windowed galleries, provides the means for the rich and intricate profusion of activity created by Herbert Graf. The designer and director together achieve something I have never seen before and didn't think possible: a first act that makes dramatic sense—though a second act that would make sense appears to have been more than even they could achieve. One detail in the first and third acts struck me as odd: the fact that in rooms in the Duke's palace, in which he was bare-headed, the courtiers wore hats; but perhaps Dr. Graf knows this to have been the practice of the period.

The work of the principals in the performance I attended was less satisfying. It was the eighth performance of the season, with replacements of singers of the first performance—Paolo Silveri for the first time as a rough-voiced, lunging and clutching Rigoletto, and Jan Peerce for the first time as a Duke who began by singing *Questa o quella* very poorly but went on to do the best singing of the evening. Peerce also began badly out of step with the orchestra, which was something of a shock, since I had thought that with Bing we had heard the last of a singer stepping onto the Metropolitan stage without even a conference with the conductor about tempos (which Peerce appeared to have had before the later acts). But a worse shock was the singing of Roberta Peters as Gilda; for I would have supposed we had also heard the last at the Metropolitan of such premature exploitation of insufficiently or poorly schooled vocal talent coping with the demands of a role like Gilda with a catch-as-catch-can method of vocal production for each note that produced a different-sounding voice each time—and one that was unpleasant as often as pleasant.

A week later I went again, to hear Gilda sung for the first time by Genevieve Warner. This was the soprano whose singing in a performance of Mozart's "Seraglio" put on by the Music School of the Henry Street Settlement three years ago amazed me with the extraordinary loveliness of the sounds that were produced—even in the most formidably high and florid passages of Constanza's arias—with an effortless casualness born of secure technique. In the second act of "Rigoletto" it took a good part of her opening duets for Miss Warner to get over her nervousness and warm up her voice, which in *Caro nome* produced sounds and phrases that ravished the ear. But the Metropolitan audience which Miss Peters had been able to excite to cheers by her way of making the squeezing out of a particularly acidulous note a dramatic demonstration of triumph over prodigious difficulties—this audience was left unmoved and silent by Miss Warner's effortless production of those lovely phrases.

"Those English have a weight of tradition to support them, but sometimes it sinks them," someone commented when I wondered how critics like Desmond Shaw-Taylor and Edward Sackville-West of the *New Statesman and Nation* and Martin Cooper of the *Spectator*—who operated with a musical knowledge, understanding, and perception related to a rich general culture that made their writing so illuminatingly accurate most of the time—could sometimes hit so wide of the mark. Cooper, for example, is capable of the accurate observation and evaluation embodied in his statements that "if you really listen to Berlioz's music, really follow it . . . it is perfectly coherent and alive with the most astonishing vitality"; that "for all the richness of his palette and the *kolossal* character of many of his effects, Berlioz is not a sensualist"; that "harmonically his music is ascetic and its effect on the listener astringent," and the

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four brass bands and eighteen kettledrums of the *Tuba mirum* of the Requiem "are used by a mind so completely in the grip of a poetic idea, so absolutely alien to all exploitation of sound for its own sake (the sensualist's music), that the listener's soul and not his nerves are affected." But he is capable also of the statement that "no violin concerto more than Elgar's combines musical quality with virtuosity"; and for him it is Flagstad who has only a phenomenal voice, Gigli who has in addition the "sheer artistry" that will prolong his career when the voice goes.

One finds these inequalities also in Cooper's excellent book "French Music" (Oxford, $4.75). In his introduction he explains that French music isn't popular in England because it lacks "a strongly flavored emotional content, either moral or uplifting as in Beethoven or introvert and lowering as in Tchaikovsky"; the French composer, he says, rejects W. J. Turner's idea that the function of art is to reveal the soul of man, and regards music as "the art of arranging sounds in agreeable and intellectually satisfying patterns." He is aware that "taste, intelligence, and skill cannot replace the individual genius or, divorced from largeness of character, create works of the first magnitude"; but he contends that "few countries at any period have been richer in the best music of the second rank." And the illuminating intelligence, perception, and sense of values that are evident in these general statements appear also in most of the subsequent detailed examination of this music. But occasionally this discussion of works in terms of tendency results in their not being perceived and evaluated correctly as particular works of art: one would not suspect the outstanding stature of Debussy's "La Mer" and "Images" for orchestra from what Cooper says of them, and he misrepresents and undervalues Chabrier's fascinatingly original "Dix Pièces pittoresques." However, the few details of this sort don't make this anything less than an excellent book.

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Record Notes

BY ROBERT E. GARIS

[*Because of the great increase in the number of new LP records we shall publish occasionally brief listings by Mr. Garis which will supplement Mr. Haggin's reviews.*]

Bartok: Music for Strings, Percussion and Celesta; Von Karajan and the Philharmonia Orchestra (Columbia), also Kubelik and the Chicago Symphony (Mercury); one of Bartok's best pieces; the Kubelik performance is lurid and is recorded with too wide a dynamic range, shrill highs, and noisy surfaces; the Karajan is better; best of all is the Byrns performance on Capitol. Violin Concerto; Varga with the Berlin Philharmonic under Fricsay (Decca); a few beautifully expressive moments embedded in a diffuse rhapsody; performance good, recording not well balanced.

Bloch: Concerto Grosso for string orchestra and piano obligato; Kubelik and the Chicago Symphony (Mercury); performance effective, noisy surfaces.

Brahms: "Academic Festival" Overture and Hungarian Dances Nos. 1, 3, 10, 17; Walter and the New York Philharmonic (Columbia); performances excellent. Sonata No. 3 for violin and piano; Horowitz and Milstein (Victor); juicy virtuoso performance. Symphony No. 2; Monteux with San Francisco Symphony (Victor); performance fair, some wavering in pitch.

Couperin: Harpsichord Suite; Eta Harich-Schneider (Urania); music only mildly interesting; performance very poor, recording not clean.

Couperin and *Rameau:* Harpsichord Recital; Sylvia Marlowe (MGM); pleasant music, fair performance.

Franck: Sonata for Violin and Piano; Stern and Zakin (Columbia); good performance.

Locatelli: Concerto da Camera for strings and piano; Litschauer with the Vienna Chamber Orchestra (Vanguard); dull music; fair performance.

Martinu: Sonata and Sonatina for two violins and piano; Margarete and Willy Schweyda and Jan Behr (Urania); dull music; competent performance.

Mendelssohn: "Italian" Symphony; Rieger and Munich Philharmonic (Decca); performance weak; recording hollow and muffled.

Musorgksy: "Pictures at an Exhibition"; Kubelik and the Chicago Symphony (Mercury); performance effective; recording superb, noisy surfaces.

Respighi: "Trittico Botticelliano"; Litschauer and Vienna State Opera Orchestra (Vanguard); typical Respighi—pretty sonorities with a gum-drop center; performance effective, recording not clean.

Sibelius: "Finlandia" and "The Swan of Tuonela"; Ormandy and the Philadelphia (Columbia); good performances. Symphony No. 2; Koussevitzky and Boston Symphony (Victor); performance effective.

Strauss: "Death and Transfiguration"; Reiner and RCA Victor Symphony (Victor); performance good. "Don Juan"; Koussevitzky and the Boston Symphony (Victor); performance fair, recording thin. "Till Eulenspiegel"; Reiner and the RCA Victor Symphony (Victor); performance generally effective, occasionally melodramatic.

Szymanowski: Violin Concerto No. 1; Uminska with the Philharmonia Orchestra under Fichtelberg (Decca); music very poor, tirelessly rhapsodic; performance ditto.

Wagner: "Siegfried Idyl"; Koussevitzky and the Boston Symphony (Victor); performance poor, recording thin.

Weber: "Der Freischütz" Overture; Ormandy and the Philadelphia (Columbia); good performance, wavering pitch and noisy surfaces.

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Letters to the Editors

Grass-Roots Support For Justice Douglas

[The Nation *has received many telephone calls and letters in response to the editorial published on January 26, entitled Justice Douglas* Is *Available. Excerpts from a few of the letters appear below. In an early spring issue* The Nation *will publish an article by Fred Rodell of the Yale Law School on Justice Douglas as a possible Democratic nominee.*]

Dear Sirs: Your editorial Justice Douglas *Is* Available was splendid, and struck a responsive chord in countless persons who are dismayed and discouraged by the present destructive trends in this country, and who feel that he alone can provide the vision and the leadership we desperately need. . . . The moment has come to translate talk into action. Time is short. Will you start a Douglas for President movement—or shall it all dissolve in talk? JOSEPH H. TITUS
Jamaica, N. Y.

Dear Sirs: I was very glad to see your magazine editorializing on so fine an issue. I think if enough people raise the cry Justice Douglas might become available. I would be glad to help in any effort in this direction, whether it be fund raising or campaigning, but have heard of none so far. Surely someone should organize a movement that would have such wide and fervent support among so many thinking Americans.
New York CHARLES R. BOWEN

Dear Sirs: I hail with delight your banner for Justice Douglas for President. I have long thought of him as the only man of presidential calibre we have. . . .
ELIZABETH STEPTOE
Charlottesville, Va.

Dear Sirs: Is there any sort of organization pushing for Justice Douglas? He certainly would be the ideal candidate. . . . RUSSEL PALMER
Paterson, N. J.

Dear Sirs: I read with . . . real interest your editorial on Justice Douglas. As a rather restless liberal voter looking for a decent candidate for whom one could vote with some enthusiasm, the name of Justice Douglas is certainly the most congenial one I have seen mentioned anywhere this year. Liberal and progressive voters could conduct a really worthwhile campaign with a candidate of Douglas's stature. . . .
Ypsilanti, Mich. ANN HUBBELL

Dear Sirs: I wish to express my satisfaction and pleasure in your effort to direct the attention of our people to Justice Douglas as a possible nominee for President. A life-long voting Republican, I'd be glad of the opportunity to vote for him on any ticket. . . .
Yelm, Wash. WILL RICHARDS

Dear Sirs: Your editorial on Justice Douglas electrified my voter's impulse.
It would be good news if for once the nation will listen to *The Nation.*
New York EDWARD F. BROWN

Dear Sirs: Few things have given me keener pleasure recently than the copy of *The Nation* of January 26 . . . I consider Justice Douglas our greatest American liberal. With his hand on the steering wheel, we could feel secure . . . I hope *The Nation* will start a boom for him. CLARISSA E. CALLAHAN
Denver, Col.

Dear Sirs: We would like you to know that we agree wholeheartedly and indorse your proposal to try to convince Justice Douglas that he is the outstanding choice for the Democratic nomination. . . . ADELE R. MEYER
Riverdale, N. Y. PAUL MEYER

After Pasadena, Phoenix

Dear Sirs: The campaign to stifle free inquiry in our colleges and universities, recently reported in a series of articles entitled Battle for Free Schools in *The Nation*, won another victory by forcing out a textbook at Phoenix, Arizona.

The book is "Basic Economics," by Mitchell, Murad, Berkowitz, and Bagley, published by William Sloane Associates in 1951. It is one of the several standard textbooks in the field of economics and is used at various colleges and universities. The authors, all professors of economics at Rutgers University, the state university of New Jersey, differ in opinion among themselves. This benefits the circumspection of the book, which is an effort at factual, non-partisan exposition.

The first shot in the skirmish at Phoenix College was fired on October 6, 1951, by an anonymous corporal at Luke Air Force Base who in a letter to the editor of the Phoenix *Gazette* denounced the book as "socialistic," "dreamy," and "idealistic." This indictment was supported by vague innuendo, quotation out of context, and outright misquotation. The corporal pleaded to have the book banned from Phoenix College and indeed from all schools—public and private.

President E. M. Montgomery of Phoenix College countered by defending the book in a statement to the press. The Phoenix *Gazette* in an editorial on October 11 then reemphasized the corporal's charges and called for a ban on the book. Again the college authorities reacted. Dean Robert J. Hannelly announced that the college intended to combat this "attack on academic freedom."

The Board of Education of Phoenix College then ordered a public review of the book on October 16. The outcome of this public review was that the board unanimously voted to continue "Basic Economics" as a text.

This victory for academic freedom was not accepted as final by the self-appointed defenders of our economic faith. Letters and editorials, in the *Gazette* and other papers, kept up the fight. The background and affiliations of Broadus Mitchell and of others among the authors were impugned. One letter sent to the authors revealed, perhaps more honestly than did the published attacks, the sentiments and quality of the assailants. It read: "You fellows sound like a bunch of *Joisey kikes,* come out west where we will teach the American way of life."

Something called America's Better Citizens Committee sent out literature misquoting the book and urging people to write to the school board to have the book banned. Dean Hannelly stated that the college had been swamped with letters demanding that the book be dropped. The American Legion (Luke Greenway Post No. 1) declared the book un-American, socialistically and communistically inclined, and urged that it be banned from all Arizona schools. The two Phoenix newspapers, the *Gazette* and the *Republic*, owned by Eugene C. Pulliam of Indianapolis, refused to print the true facts or to present the college administration's side in the controversy.

Eventually the college succumbed. "The dispute over a Phoenix College textbook has ended," said an editorial

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in the *Gazette* on January 5, 1952. "College authorities, yielding tardily but with good grace, have decided that 'Basic Economics' by Mitchell, Murad, Berkowitz, and Bagley will not be used as a textbook after the present semester ends January 18. Material more laudatory of the American economic system will be used." The *Gazette* editorial hailed the assault on the book as "a working of the democratic processes" and as not "in any way infringing on their academic freedom."

There are rumors that the Phoenix legionnaires, elated by the surrender of Phoenix College, are planning to extend the ban to all colleges and universities in the nation.

No more suitable question suggests itself than one asked by the eloquent corporal in his letter to the editor which started the "democratic process." "Can't something be done about this? It's a far cry from the principles upon which our country was founded and for which a great number of us are giving up years of our lives." LEOPOLD KOHR

New Brunswick, N. J.

The Memphis Witch Hunt

Dear Sirs: The activities of Local 19, Distributive, Processing, and Office Workers, composed primarily of Negroes in two Memphis plants, had been reported, off and on, in local papers as "left wing." To conservative Memphis anything considered "left" is also usually considered communistic. However, Memphis is either less hysterical or more lethargic than many American cities today, for there was very little talk about Local 19.

Memphis, therefore, was somewhat surprised to hear that Senator Eastland, from nearby Mississippi, was coming with a Senate subcommittee to investigate Communist activities in the city. The committee moved in, suddenly, with fanfare and publicity, but Memphis on the whole, once it had got over the initial shock, pretty well ignored the entire affair. Some suspicious folk suggested the investigation was just a little political maneuvering by the Senator, who might have an eye on elections down home. Others, close to the labor field, hinted that the rival C. I. O. Chemical Workers' Union, which had recently been defeated by the D. P. O. in a National Labor Relations Board election, might have persuaded the Senator to investigate so that the election might be challenged, giving the C. I. O. another crack at it.

The local papers gave a blow-by-blow description of the committee goings-on. The pattern of questioning was familiar, but the obvious difference in the way witnesses were questioned made the investigation a trial. Senator Eastland and Victor Rabinowitz, attorney for the D. P. O., generated most of the excitement. Rabinowitz tried to give legal counsel to union members, and Eastland did not want the witnesses to have it, at least not Rabinowitz's. At one time during the hearing Eastland shouted, "Throw that damn scum out of here!" This outburst summoned marshals to escort Rabinowitz out of the chamber and got headlines in the paper and congratulations from C. I. O. officials. There seemed little justification for such adolescent, undignified behavior on the part of a United States Senator, since Rabinowitz, if he offended the Senator, only did so through his insistence on knowing what his rights were. Some people felt the Senator was making up his rules as he went along, leaving everyone confused. They also felt that he was playing the game with loaded dice in not letting witnesses have an attorney, since the committee itself had its own lawyer, Richard Arens.

A bit of local color was added by Eastland's treatment of Negro witnesses. Although all white persons, both accused or otherwise, were addressed as "Mr." or "Mrs." by the Senator, Negroes were addressed as "boy" or by their first name, in the best Mississippi tradition. Richard Arens, committee attorney, did call Negroes "Mr." or "Mrs.," but lashed out at them like a new graduate trying to win his first case. Witnesses, both Negro and white—alternately tense, angry, and scared—were generally confused or puzzled.

The committee showed a definite flair for drama when in the middle of the investigation it brought in a "mystery witness" by the name of Paul Crouch, an ex-Communist. After a witness had been questioned, Crouch was called in to tell what he knew about the person. Although he had not been a member of the Communist Party for nine years, Crouch displayed a most remarkable memory for things that had happened and the exact date of their happening ten or fifteen years before. With obvious delight Crouch named names, made accusations, and contradicted witnesses, while they glared and committee members practically chortled with pleasure. Many spectators wondered if the ex-Communist was any more trustworthy than a present-day Communist, but the committee for some reason seemed to have great faith in the veracity of its imported mystery witness.

The hearing ended in a burst of glory, branding the D. P. O. as Communist, threatening to invalidate the recent N. L. R. B. elections won by the union, and promising to seek laws curbing "groups like D. P. O." No one was surprised, naturally. There was some talk about indicting D. P. O.'s 1,400 local members. Of course, everyone connected with the hearing knew that they could not be indicted for anything, but the members, being uneducated in the mysteries of witch hunts, were probably scared out of their wits. At least one well-known business man who had refused to answer certain questions and who had hired known "left-wingers" thought it advisable to sell his business and leave town. He was not directly accused of being a Communist, or of advocating the overthrow of the government, but the committee did a lot of insinuating.

Nothing was accomplished, of course. No one proved that the D. P. O. was trying to overthrow the government. Surprisingly few people even kept up with the hearings. In a state that hasn't amended its constitution since it was originally written in 1870 and in a city that seldom sees two men running for any one office, the whole thing seemed rather silly. Many people who did think about it felt that the C. I. O. and D. P. O. and the committee were taking advantage of the colored folks, or that it was just politics, or that it was just part of Congress's investigating spree and didn't mean a thing. However, they will vaguely remember names connected with the hearing and automatically brand those names as Communists.

MARY MOSTERT

Memphis, Tenn.

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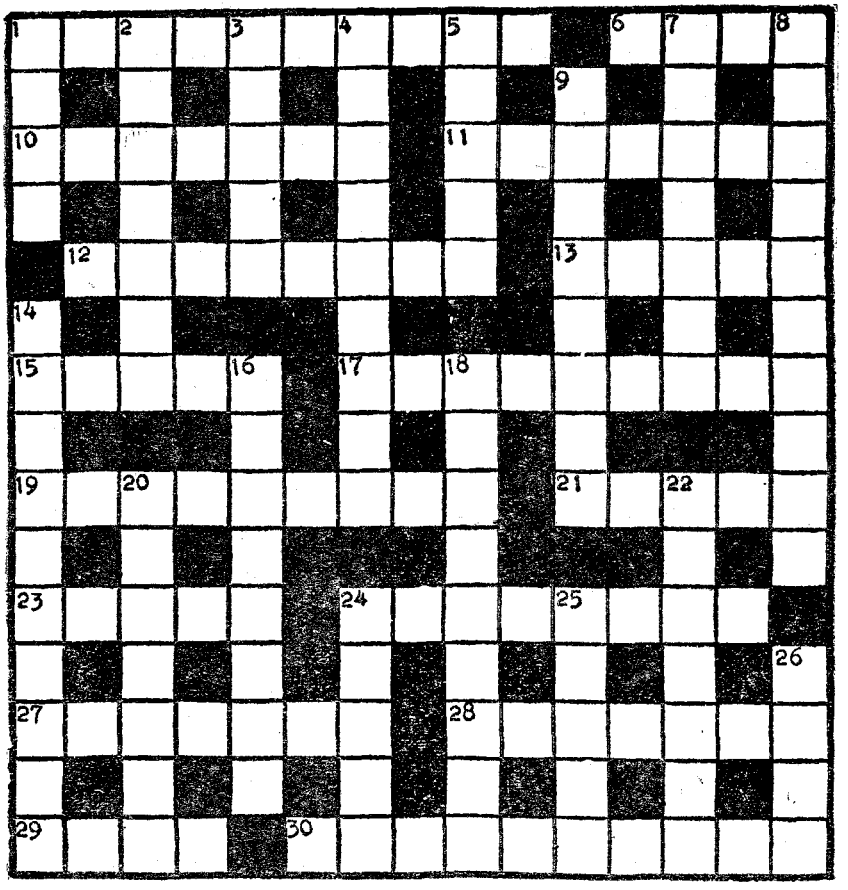
Crossword Puzzle No. 451

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Anticipates being confused without a cleaning agent. (10)
6 No back-twist on 12 to make this box. (4)
10, 27 and 8 down. This wire should obviously be either thicker or have better conductivity. (3, 4, 2, 5, 10)
11 Did George find one of them so grand? (7)
12 Equal cuts of food. (8)
13 Self-announcement of the master scientist of the religious leaders? (5)
15 Works with a rope. (5)
17 Cross-section of our life caught in a camera. (9)
19 See 2 down.
21 A different kind of subject than the complement of 4. (5)
23 Rides the sort of thing horses are. (5)
24 See 2 down.
27 See 10 across.
28 They tried to drink unsuccessfully. (7)
29 and 25 down. Stand-by on Midway! (Evidently the flank is exposed!) (4, 5)
30 Men's assets scarcely disturb them; some find this disturbing! (10)

DOWN

1 If an American soldier led them, they'd become much bigger. (4)
2, 26 down, 19 across, 24 across, 3 down. Features equivalent to many ways? (3, 4, 4, 8, 1, 8, 5)
3 See 2 down.
4 Base things on something other than the subject under discussion. (9)
5 Want work? Try in addition to make it with this water. (5)
7 According to a certain rate, or a part thereof. (3, 4)
8 See 10 across.
9 Swift, perhaps, but not exactly as the artist is. (8)
14 Such meetings are usually unscheduled. (10)
16 Take a card in a fast shuffle? It's simple! (8)
18 Bundle up, and speak well of it; it's worked out very nicely. (9)
20 Blank paper is; anarchists want to be. (7)
22 Mute female swans I've observed to be thoughtful. (7)
24 Paul's companion or the Roman emperor? Either could make it suit to a "T." (5)
25 See 29 across.
26 See 2 down.

••■••

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 450

ACROSS:—1 AUTOBIOGRAPHY; 10 TAHOE; 11 DAY LETTER; 12 UNREFINED; 13 STAMP; 14 IRISH WHISKEY; 19 ACCOMPANISTS; 22 POUTS; 24 OVERRATED; 25 PHANTASMA; 26 INCAN; 27 DYED-IN-THE-WOOL.

DOWN:—2 USHERS; 3 OPEN FORUM; 4 INDONESIA; 5 GUYED; 6 ABETS; 7 HATRACKS; 8 STOUP; 9 PREPAYS; 15 WHITEWASH; 16 INTERVIEW; 17 BAGPIPE; 18 ACCURACY; 20 STUCCO; 21 EDENS; 23 SATED; 24 ORSON.

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